

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

"Hitler's Bomb-shell"

W HATEVER may have been the other motives that dictated Germany's second abandonment of the Disarmament Conference, on October 14th, and her threat to leave the League of Nations two years hence, these fateful resolves have clearly their main source in the prolonged reluctance of the other great Powers to adopt any planned disarmament. They have been foolishly blind to the psychological effect in Germany that their continued inaction would necessarily have, and so they have incurred the nemesis of delay. They were warned by the Minister of the Interior (Dr. Frick) as long ago as September 16th that further postponements would cause Germany to leave the Conference, but they persisted in deferring action. If only they had *done* something, so to speak, on account, as President Hoover suggested last June; made an all-round cut, not necessarily a large one, which would have left their relative strength unimpaired; merely set the machine in motion, however slowly; then the Germans would have less excuse for their petulant retirement, just when there seemed at last some prospect of a general agreement. The British Draft under discussion was an immense advance on that originally proposed by the Preparatory Commission, and contained the germs of a final solution. Why, then, did the Germans suddenly retire? There may be some method in their madness: they may want to show the others that the equality which they conceded to Germany last December cannot be indefinitely postponed, and that the nation they are now dealing with has shaken off the last traces of defeat and inferiority. If even now, the other Powers produce a real feasible plan for reduction of all armaments to a non-aggressive level, we do not doubt that Germany will return to their councils. She cannot, in any case, afford to face the economic upset involved in re-arming.

Bluff or Real Desire for Peace?

IT is noteworthy that this defiant action is accompanied by professions of peace, more explicit and more absolute than Germany has ever uttered before. The Government's manifesto, on October 14th, announcing their decision, expressly repudiated force "as an unsuitable means of settling existing differences within the European commonwealth of States," and declared their desire to disarm to the very bone, "as long as the other nations decide to do the same." Herr Hitler, in a subsequent broadcast, made a significant advance towards friendship with France, which is indeed the key to the whole peace question.

I speak in the name of the whole German people when I affirm that we are all filled with the genuine desire to remove a feud which has claimed a number of victims so disproportionate to what has been gained by it. . . . It would be a mighty happening for all humanity if these two nations of Europe would banish, once and for all, force from their common life. The German people is ready to do so. . . . The demand of the German nation and Government has not been for weapons, but for equality of rights.

And then he reiterated his readiness to disarm completely—on condition. "If the world decides that all weapons are to be abolished down to the last machine-gun, we are ready at once to join in such a convention." No words could be fairer. Signor Mussolini long ago offered to reduce the Italian army to 10,000 rifles, if the other Powers did the like: Herr Hitler goes still further. But unless the others reduce their forces, he claims the right to increase his. Let them at least begin.

The Strength of All in Defence of Each

GERMANY'S equality of status was admitted on December 11th last year. Equality of international status means that—apart from common restrictive agreement—each nation has the same right to provide for its own security as the others. And, in making a common agreement, there must be no discrimination against any particular nation. A common agreement is sought, since security is essential for well-being, and there is no other way of achiev-

ing it. Competitive armaments cannot provide it, for the stronger A becomes, the weaker comparatively is B. The only way is to employ the strength of all for the defence of each. In lawless communities the individual has to go armed to defend his rights: when they become civilized, it is law, not the litigant, that is armed. Towards that eminently sane ideal the world, hindered grievously by pseudo-patriotism, and by vested financial interests, is now painfully struggling. The German demand in itself is wholly reasonable. Her former opponents, by giving her complete diplomatic and political equality in the League and by practically remitting any further claim for war-indemnities, have dropped everything penal and prohibitive in their relations with her. If she is to remain disarmed, it must be because the others are similarly disarming, rather than by virtue of the Versailles Treaty. She should now be invited to join the rest in shedding all the equipment which is not needed to preserve domestic order or to contribute her share to an international police force. She has retired from the Conference on a point of honour, for she felt that the vindictive spirit of Versailles still dictated its proposals. She will surely come back to help to frame a new convention which shall supersede the disarmament clauses of the old Treaty.

Germany's War Spirit unnecessarily Evoked

BUT reasonable as that standpoint is in itself, circumstances have made it most inopportune. The Chancellor should be better aware of the effect upon the prospects of world peace of the intensive and exclusive nationalism which he has successfully aimed at creating in Germany. In his broadcast, he attributes the militarism of German youth to the necessity of suppressing Communism at home. But he glazes over the fact that every means of propaganda—Press, cinema, school—is being directed to make the German people essentially bellicose, to eulogize war, in the spirit of the old Prussian Bernhardi, as the highest expression of national life, and to make them feel that only by the exhibition of armed strength can they persuade their heavily-armed rivals to treat them justly. All the evidence goes to show that, whatever be the tenor of her official utterances, Germany is deliberately cultivating the unChristian spirit of militarism which precipitated the last war. Even the *Journal* of her "League of Nations Union" is devoted *exclusively* to show-

ing how extensive and effective are the preparations for war made by the other great Powers in Europe, and how comparatively defenceless Germany is—the implication always being that the former Allies mean this disparity to be permanent. Nothing is said to show that there are powerful forces in France and Great Britain and in the United States which are determined that disarmament shall be uniform and universal. So, under the Nazis, Germany professes, on the one hand, to be anxious to live in harmony with the rest of Europe, and on the other hand, is fostering an aggressive nationalism that would make harmony impossible. No one can acquit the ex-Allies of a lamentable lack of common sense in their post-war policy. They should, at least after 1926, when Germany joined the League, have seen that the ideal of security through predominant national force was no longer, if it ever was, attainable, and that Germany had now a strict right to demand that the aggressive weapons forbidden to herself should also be forbidden to all the rest. We can understand her exasperation whilst regretting her impatience, but we do not yet despair of peace through the League, just because there is no tolerable alternative, and the world is not altogether mad.

Pessimism to be Deprecated

IN the confusion of ideas caused by the German decision, people are already speaking of a preventive war—a policy which finds no support in Christian morality. For it means that if you think you have reason to fear that your rival will presently grow strong enough to attack you, you are justified in attacking him now when he is relatively weak. The assumption is that your rival has no right to grow as strong as, or stronger than, you—which is an assertion that you possess some superior right to be strong. As long as national security is based merely on national strength, one nation has as much right to it as another. Early in the century, militarists used to urge Great Britain to destroy Germany's navy before it got too strong, because in that case her sea supremacy would be challenged—again an implicit denial of equal rights. The only civilized way of reconciling the ambitions of Sovereign States is by process of law, by arbitration and mutual compromise. To be obliged, as a last and desperate necessity, to fight a war of defence is bad enough, war being what it is. But to provoke war here and now because of a remote

and hypothetical peril, is a violation of justice only worthy of savages. It is time, surely, that those who are Christians ceased to talk lightly of the possibility of war, yet we find even Catholics writing about "the next war," as if it were a certainty, and thus doing what they can to make it so. Let us leave such predictions to the war-traders and their subsidized Press, and let us scrupulously abstain besides from that violent and indiscriminate abuse of other nations, characteristic of the Jingo, which argues an unCatholic narrow-mindedness and which tends to prevent international understanding.

How to Prevent Re-armament

GERMANY'S dislike of the League is in harmony with the old Prussian tradition which was always averse to any interference with the "right to war." It was German intransigence which made abortive the first and second Hague Conferences (1899 and 1907), designed to limit the growth of armaments, and we fear that much of the old militarist spirit has returned under the Nazis. If the ex-Allies were inclined to press the point, they might urge that the recognition of equality, last year, was given to a democratic federal republic which has since changed into a united and belligerent autocracy. But, pending their own overdue reduction of armaments, they have an easy way to prevent Germany re-arming in defiance of Treaties. They could prohibit the export to that country, not merely of the finished weapons, which only three or four of them can produce, but also, in view of Germany's own capacity for arms manufacture, of the raw materials necessary for munition-making. Sir Thomas Holland emphasized, in 1929, the fact that the British Commonwealth and the United States, taken together, command most of the mineral resources of the world essential for modern munitions. If the other League Powers join in rationing Germany's import of these minerals—nickel, copper, tungsten, antimony, nitrates—so as only to provide for the munitions allowed her, then any considerable re-armament would be impossible. This would, of course, be an attempt to restrain Mars through Mammon and such attempts have not hitherto succeeded. But the developing crisis may inspire a more determined effort. A very instructive, if somewhat onesided, booklet, called "Patriotism Limited" (Union of Democratic Control: 6d.), showing the

intricate ramifications and unscrupulous methods of the international Armament Traffic, also shows how determined the effort must be in order to succeed. For there may be some substance in the charge that Germany's abrupt departure from the Conference was induced by her powerful War-traders.

A Breach of International Comity

THE Nazis justify their seizure of power by the necessity of saving Germany from the degeneration and subversion to which Jewish dominance and Communist plotting were leading her. As an instance of the latter they instanced the burning of the Reichstag, and at the moment a public trial of the alleged culprits is proceeding at Leipzig. But a self-appointed "international Commission of Jurists," anxious, no doubt, that justice should be done, yet refusing the reasonable conditions laid down for their attendance at the Leipzig Court, held a trial of their own in London on September 14th—18th, which resulted in the entire acquittal of the accused, the dissociation of the Communist party from the crime, and the suggestion that it was committed by "leading personalities of the National-Socialist party"! Previously, on September 21st, two leading French lawyers delivered speeches on behalf of the accused to an immense audience in Paris, and passed a resolution in the name of "the entire French people," denouncing "the parody of justice" being staged at Leipzig. It is surprising that the German Government did not make these astounding breaches of international comity, which the French and British Governments condoned since they did not officially express regret for them, a subject of vehement protest, but we cannot doubt that they had their effect in deciding the Nazis to break with the League. They must have felt that no armed nation would be treated so. Whatever may be privately thought of the Reichstag incendiaryism, foreign intervention of this sort before the trial is altogether to be deplored.

The Pope and the Prayer Book

IN the course of a recent *Church Times* correspondence on the "canonicity" of the Book of Common Prayer, and various versions of it, the suggestion was made, on the authority of Bishop Frere's "History of the English Church," that "there were persistent rumours at the time

[of Elizabeth] that he [Pope Pius IV] was willing to confirm it as a valid Catholic rite." The historian may be correct in saying that there *were* such rumours, but it would have been more candid to have added that even contemporary writers considered them as unfounded, and that later Protestant authors, such as Fuller and Dixon, wholly discredit them.¹ Liturgy from which every reference to sacrifice and priestly power had been carefully and systematically removed could not well replace the Catholic Mass; the resuscitation of the old fable merely indicates the straits to which the exigencies of a false position may bring one. In the same letter, the writer represents the persecuted Catholics—"loyal members of the Church of England"—appealing to the Pope to give his sanction to the Parliamentary Prayer Book, whereas all that the poor "Roman" recusants, ruined by fines and exactions, wanted was leave to save their property by outward conformity till better times should come.

To Purify the Film Industry

FIRST of all, from the infection, which is almost universal, of sexual indecency; and then from all other antinomian excesses, which are advocated by its means; not, indeed, always consciously, as is done in Russia, but because the idea of moral control has no place in the minds of the majority of film producers. Like the art of printing originally, like the modern marvel of wireless broadcasting, the Talking Film of to-day ranks with the most potent of influences affecting the human mind. And, as usual, the children of this generation, the materialists, have seized upon its potentialities in much greater numbers and with much more energy and success than have the children of light. The Film Industry is almost entirely in the hands of those who exploit it for profit, and who follow lines whereby the most profit is to be expected. It cannot be purified by commercial producers. By a sort of Gresham's law greater profits drive out less, and when the choice is greater dividends or more morality, dividends always win. A few figures, taken mainly from a Report by the Washington Department of Commerce, will show the immensity of the evil and the immediate need of a remedy. There are about 70,000 cinemas in the world

¹ See *THE MONTH*, "The Alleged Papal Sanction of the Anglican Liturgy," by J. H. Pollen, September, 1902.

(61,924, a year ago), 37,000 of which show talking pictures. These cinemas are attended by 250 million men, women and children every week. Europe has 30,423, of which no less than 13,258 are in Russia, which has, moreover, 14,258 travelling cinema shows. In that country, at any rate, the value of "the pictures" as a means of propaganda is fully realized. So far, in other lands, it has been employed mainly to entertain, but its use in education is growing, and will grow.

What Catholics are Doing

HAPPILY, Catholics are now preparing to deal with this danger. There have been annual international Cinema Congresses on the Continent: the last, in Brussels, opened on September 28th. The Holy Father, as an informative article in the *Catholic Times* (September 22nd) relates, has appointed a commission to study the question, and already in many European countries—France, Germany, Belgium, Holland—there are Catholic organizations for film-production. All these would be strengthened by union and co-ordination, and this is apparently under way. According to the paper quoted, a step forward towards this end has been taken by the formation of the "Catholic International Eidophone Co.", a body which has secured the approval of the Pope, and which aims at providing pictures which shall be free from anything morally objectionable. All Catholics will watch with interest and, given occasion, should support so commendable an enterprise. Already, we are assured, "parish-halls, schools, etc., can obtain films from this Company which are technically and artistically equal to those shown in large theatres." After all, enjoyment, humour, drama, adventure, detection—all the elements that thrill and interest—do not require the aid of what is animal and vile, and Catholics, at any rate, should set their faces against it. Although some sort of control is supposed to be exercised over exhibition of films, and the young are debarred from attending a certain class, this control does not, by any means, satisfy Christian morality. Now, the Catholic population of Europe, even leaving out Germany and Italy, where dictatorships have already "cleansed" the picture-houses, is immense. In the Danubian States alone, which are paying for their national independence by intolerable military burdens and a steady decline in commercial strength, the vast majority of the inhabitants are Catholics. Taking in Poland, these peoples num-

ber about 82,000,000. Politically divided into five or six small States and still maintaining suicidal tariff-barriers, they are almost wholly one in religious belief, and it should not be difficult to effect a uniform standard of cinema-censorship amongst them. It is reported that the lubricity banished from Germany has taken refuge in countries south-east of her. May the new International Eidophone Co. speedily extend its operations to those regions.

The "Group Movement"

ALL revivalist campaigns, such as that lately undertaken in London and elsewhere by Mr. Buchman's "Group Movement," must be regarded *a priori* with sympathetic interest by the Catholic, as being genuine attempts to realize in conduct the profession of Christianity. No object could be nobler or better and, as for the motive, St. Paul would not have us be too exacting—"What matter? In any case, one way or another, for motives true or false, Christ is being proclaimed" (Phil. i, 18). Moreover, provided the means are moral and suited to the end and do not prejudice the claims of the Church, they, too, need not be questioned as being eccentric—"He that is not against you, is with you." However, since the Catholic Church is the divinely appointed means of bringing men to Christ, she must needs contain in herself whatever is best suited to that end. Wherefore, quite apart from the danger of obscuring her unique witness, any formal participation by Catholics in such "unsectarian" methods as are practised by the Buchmanites, would be disloyalty to the Faith, for it would imply that what the Church supplies and guarantees in the way of personal sanctification can be better or more easily found elsewhere. The contrary is the case. There is nothing in "Groupism" which the spirit and practice of Catholicism does not provide in greater abundance and with more permanent effect. That personal surrender to Our Lord, which the "Groups" call "guidance," the substitution of His Will for our own, and the making of it the principle of all our choices, is the ordinary practice of "purity of intention," inculcated at the very beginning of the devout life. And what subjective consciousness of His presence in the heart can equal in effect His actual coming in the Holy Eucharist? To ask the Holy Spirit for personal illumination, although we have been told to "hear the Church," would savour of presumption, except on the part

of those to whom the Church is unknown. Moreover, as for "sharing"—the specific admission of personal unworthiness—all the benefits of such avowal, with none of its very evident risks, are open to every Catholic in the confessional. Finally, in their devotedness to Christ, the "Groups" have long been anticipated by the Third Orders in the Church, and by these widespread manifestations of the religious chivalry of youth—the Sodalities of Our Lady, the Knights of the Blessed Sacrament, the Legionaries of Mary, and the inspiring phalanx of enthusiastic girlhood, recently prominent in the public eye—the Society of the Grail. If, then, the spectacle of these extra-Church religious activities can stir Catholics up to a better use of their own opportunities, as it ought, its effect will be all to the good.

Pending the Spanish Elections

ON October 1st, religious secondary schools in Spain came to an end, and at the end of the year the primary schools will also lose their religious teachers. Meanwhile, the dictator Azana, whose anti-clericalism prompted this assault on liberty of conscience, passed ingloriously out of office on September 8th, and a General Election has been fixed for November 19th. The results of that Election—if it is not "managed" in the interests of the Left—may save the Azana Government from the reproach of having sacrificed the educational interests of the young to its desire to injure the Catholic Faith. It had, in fact, proposed to provide seventy-seven lay schools and 600 lay masters to do the work of the 300 secondary schools maintained by 2,000 religious, since, as that expert in defending the indefensible, *The Spectator* (September 9th) fatuously remarked, "there were no grounds for hoping that the Church would co-operate in the building up of a national educational system free from religious bias"! In spite of two years of petty persecution, church-burning and insults to the Faith, it seems doubtful yet whether the individualistic Spanish Catholic has learnt that union is strength, and that liberty can be won and maintained only by disciplined energy. But it is hoped that the worst is over, now that the iniquitous "Law for the Defence of the Republic" has been repealed, and the constitution, which contains not a few good points, has a chance of functioning.

Anti-social Policy of "The Trade"

TO explain on Catholic principles the adhesion of Catholics to the policy of Prohibition, one has to suppose that they consider it the only effective means of remedying an evil of such dimensions that the entire suppression of natural liberty is a reasonable price to pay. We may hope that now that repressive policy has proved, not only ineffective as a remedy, but also productive of worse evils than it thought to eliminate, the normal Catholic attitude on the matter will become universal. Temperance is a command: total abstinence a counsel. In ordinary circumstances there is nothing wrong in the consumption of strong drink: it is one of a thousand articles of diet which can be used with the moderation which should govern all satisfaction of bodily appetite. Consequently, there is nothing wrong in making and selling this particular article. On the other hand, it is peculiar in this, that it is very liable to abuse, and, therefore, public authority has to subject the trade in it to various forms of control. Moreover, it is, *de facto*, so often abused to the detriment of the community that there are always many who are anxious to control it still further, and inevitably, between such temperance reformers and the liquor trade there is prolonged warfare, with excesses on both sides. Happily, temperance reformers who went too far in the advocacy of prohibition, have now, let us hope, learnt reason by the defeat and discrediting of that policy. There is still room for further and wiser regulation of the Trade, and for the advocacy of those reasons, religious, economic and social, which recommend personal abstinence. The Trade, too, is prone to excess and must learn its lesson: it must recognize that, like the traffic in lethal weapons and similar commodities liable to abuse, a civilized community has to keep it under control, and subordinate it to the common good. The report of a speech made by the Director of the Brewers' Society lately at a trade gathering shows a curious oblivion to those obvious truths. Bewailing the fact "that the chief customers of the public-house to-day are the elderly and middle-aged men" the Director summons his forces to a crusade in these terms—"We want to get the beer-drinking habit instilled into thousands, almost millions, of young men who do not at present know the taste of beer." Here we see an instance of the clash between social and personal benefit which is so evident in the wider field of armaments traffic. The brewers want

their goods consumed—all traders do—by as many as possible, and they take for granted that the more is drunk the better. Hence their incessant and not over truthful advertisements, and their fight for less restriction. They need to be told that to foster drinking-habits amongst the young and immature is anti-social, and that—what this particular speaker was not ashamed to advise—to bring pressure on the editorial columns by means of advertisements—is immoral.

Stock-Yard Eugenics

ONE of the most disquieting features about the racial prepossession which has seized upon Germany is the gross materialism to which it leads, and which is shown in the law of sterilization enacted on July 14th, to come into force on January 1, 1934. Apart from the unjust treatment of racial minorities, it is the first clear case of conflict between State omnipotence and Catholic morality. This latter has been already expounded magisterially in the Encyclical "Casti Connubii" (1930) where the Pope states that "public magistrates have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects: therefore, where no crime has taken place, giving cause for grave punishment, they can never directly harm or tamper with the integrity of the body either for reasons of eugenics or any other." One cannot but feel that this law will be followed, unless Christian doctrines prevail, by projects of abortion and euthanasia. Nor are we safe here. The Minister of Health has recommended an investigation of the question, and eminent people, like Lord Horder and Bishop Barnes, have openly advocated, in the interests of the State, this violation of elementary human rights. Very timely, therefore, is the appearance of a book called "Mental Defect," by Dr. L. S. Penrose, which knocks the bottom out of the scientific arguments relied on by the eugenists. He shows, for instance, that mental deficiency is not hereditary, and that only five per cent of those actually so afflicted—estimated by Bishop Barnes as one-tenth of the community—have a defective parent. Thus, even if all were sterilized, only five per cent of the next generation of defectives would be "prevented"! The cost, moreover, of looking after these unfortunates has been grossly exaggerated. The saving effected by the abolition of a single battleship would provide all that is needed. Thus, the eugenists are not only unethical but not even scientific.

A NEW CHARGE AGAINST THE JESUITS

FANCY it being possible at this time of day to find a new charge against the Jesuits! One might have thought that there remained nothing now in the black book of human infamy unimputed to them, but a scholar from South Africa, pursuing a research course at Cambridge, has recently come upon a spicy item overlooked by other diligent wielders of the muck-rake. It makes the story all the more piquant that the charge this time should lie against a Jesuit about whom not even Pascal had anything bad to say, and that it should be of a particularly odious nature.

Towards the end of September a book appeared from the Cambridge University Press bearing the title, "Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism." It leads off a new series sponsored by Dr. J. H. Clapham, and has for author Dr. H. M. Robertson, Senior Lecturer in Economics in the University of Cape Town. Thus, clad in all the panoply of Cambridge and concerned with a subject of engrossing interest, the book is certain to claim the attention of serious students who desire to learn how the world blundered into its present economic and financial confusion.

Even before there was any such confusion, learned men had endeavoured to trace the origin of those *laissez-faire* doctrines to which we owe so much of the trouble that is now upon us. But time was when *laissez-faire* stood for the last word in economic and social enlightenment. Did not all the ships on the seven seas proclaim its wisdom, all but the dilapidated Bark of Peter which continued for so long its futile efforts to obstruct their sailing? "As long as [the Catholic] doctrine of usury was believed and acted upon," wrote Lecky in the prosperous '60's, "the arm of industry was paralysed, the expansion of commerce was arrested, and all the countless blessings that have flowed from them were withheld."¹ In contrast, the guileless historian of Rationalism pointed us to Calvin and Saumaise as prophets of a better hope.

Half a century later, 1904-5, the German social philosopher, Max Weber, re-directed our attention to Calvin in two

¹ "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism." 3rd edition. Vol. II, p. 286. London, 1866.

famous, cold-blooded essays entitled, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," which sought to show that Protestantism, and especially Protestantism in its Calvinistic forms, must be allowed a chief share of whatever glory attaches to the individualist attitude in business relationships. Naturally enough, many non-Catholic Christians did not feel at all grateful to Weber for his pains, because the bright shield of *laissez-faire* had become somewhat tarnished in the interval. Still, such hierarchs of economic history as Sir William Ashley, Archdeacon Cunningham and, to a certain extent, Mr. Tawney, accepted his thesis, while even its ablest antagonists, such as Mr. H. G. Wood, felt constrained to admit that "the close connexion between the Puritan ethic of prudence and the spirit of Capitalism is undeniable."¹

Dr. Robertson comes forward now as an antagonist of a more determined and formidable kind. One gathers from the Introduction to his book that he resents the influence wielded by Weber's essays: "They not only inaugurated a whole literature, they gave a new direction to the whole of modern thought on a fundamental problem of economic history. I claim that they directed it on to the wrong lines." His purpose in writing is the laudable one of getting modern thought back on to the right lines, but one is made a little uneasy, at the start, by his contention that Weber's theories found such wide acceptance because they could be turned into "a convenient and serviceable weapon in religious controversy." A certain truculence in Dr. Robertson's style makes us wonder what is coming next, when suddenly on p. xiv, the fourth of the Introduction, what should come but the Jesuits! Were they really so intrusive and essential to his argument that he could not have kept them out a little longer? He had just given two excerpts in illustration of a point, the first from the amusingly vituperative Elizabethan, Dr. Wilson, whose book he accidentally misnames, holding up a certain type of unscrupulous merchant to scorn, and the other, a glorious piece of satire from the "Areopagitica," describing the typical wealthy man's devices for keeping religion out of his business. "Nothing," comments Dr. Robertson, "could be further from the Puritan than either of these two types. . . . Neither fits in with a Puritan setting. The second, indeed, would be much more at home among the Jesuits with their expert system of casuistry." To appre-

¹ In "Property: its Duties and Rights," p. 151. London, 1913.

ciate the full flavour of that remark the reader must take down his Milton and hunt for the passage beginning : "A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits, finds Religion to be a traffic so entangled, and of so many piddling accounts . . ." Now, at any rate, we know what to expect from you, Dr. Robertson, and you do not disappoint us. You give us full measure, pressed down and flowing over, thirty-one solid pages out of a total of two hundred and thirteen, together with other incidental paragraphs and passing references, all *ad majorem Dei gloriam* and the confusion of the Jesuits.

By his own declaration Dr. Robertson's main thesis is to show that secular causes and not religion were the real foster-parents of economic individualism, but, in so far as religion gave any help, it was the religion of the Jesuits. As against them, with their lax moral teaching and tortuous worldly policy, he holds up for our admiration the sternly virtuous Puritans, in particular the Puritans of his presumably native Scotland. One recalls what another person who did not like Jesuits once wrote in better mood : *Plaisante justice, qu'une rivière ou une montagne borne!* To say this, is not for one moment to question Dr. Robertson's good faith. Like much modern thought, he is simply on the wrong lines. How he got on to them it is no business of ours to inquire.

Whether there are alive in the world to-day any Puritans of the type which he so warmly defends, who can say ? But there are certainly alive some 23,000 Jesuits, about 870 being in England, who hold the doctrines and rather revere the memory of their de Lugo, Lessius and Escobar—yes, Escobar. Dr. Robertson's gross, though unintentional, misrepresentation of these men is, therefore, not only an injury to the dead, but a challenge to the living. He cannot be surprised that the living should accept it. In his preface he says that he "gained much" from contact with Dr. G. G. Coulton, among others. He would certainly seem to have done so, as we shall now proceed to show, but since his allegations against both Jesuit precept and Jesuit practice are far too numerous to be set forth in a short paper, let us content ourselves at present with a close examination of the first of them. We can assure our readers that from this one charge they can have a fair idea of the groundlessness of the rest : which shall be shown in detail elsewhere. On pp. 103—104, then, of "Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism" the follow-

ing words occur which may deservedly go into italics : " *The Jesuits, we are told, had a maxim that 'there was nothing like business,' and they certainly acted up to it. When a Jesuit Cardinal approves of 'sweating' we know that we have found a religion which has moved far from medieval ideas into the world of 'laissez-faire.'* " The Cardinal in question was Juan de Lugo. In order not to bore the reader more than necessary, and also as a precaution against personalities, we may be permitted to throw the indictment into a form made popular by the " Misleading Cases" of Mr. A. P. Herbert. The reader, however, must not imagine that he is going to get what only Mr. Herbert could give him, nor, if he is legal-minded, must he be too shocked at any unorthodoxy of procedure. Ours will be a law-court in fairyland but the fairies, while probably playing havoc with judicial rules, promise to be very sober indeed when it comes to texts and evidence.

TRIAL OF JUAN, CARDINAL DE LUGO, ON A CHARGE OF APPROVING SWEATING. Before Mr. Justice Fairman, assisted by Counsel and a Special Jury, at the Court of Common Honesty, October, 1933.

Counsel for the Prosecution: The case before the Court to-day is a particularly straightforward one and a peculiarly nasty one. We all know what "sweating" is. It is "the practice of exacting hard work from employees for low wages, especially under a middle-man by sub-contract." ¹ The consciences of all decent people, of all people with a shred of human feeling in them, are revolted by such a practice. That was why Hood's simple poem, "The Song of the Shirt," roused this country to a fury of generous indignation. Unnecessary for me to picture to you the mean garret with a poor wreck of a woman crouched over the guttering candle, half starved, half frozen and wholly hopeless, with nothing to look forward to to-morrow but such a day of damnation as to-day with its ten, twelve, fifteen hours of "stitch, stitch, stitch, in poverty, hunger and dirt." And all for what? All for less a day than the man who has waxed fat on her martyrdom spends on a single cigar. Need I labour the point? We know what the word of God says about those who grind the faces of the poor. We know that it is one of the sins crying to Heaven for vengeance. We feel in our bones that a swift, passionate murder might easily be a lesser crime than

¹ The Oxford "New English Dictionary," *sub. verb.*

this, which is nothing short of murder by instalments, of murder by that diabolical expedient of the past, the *peine forte et dure*. Yet here we have a man of position and considerable influence, a Cardinal no less, who blandly *approves* of such a practice. To approve, we find in our dictionaries, means to "pronounce or consider good." Cardinal de Lugo considers "sweating" to be good. I have little doubt what you in turn will consider Cardinal de Lugo! I now bring forward from his writings evidence of his guilt. He commits himself to the statement that a wage which is not sufficient to enable the worker to clothe and feed himself decently is not always unjust.

Counsel for the Defence: Where did you find that statement? *C.P.*: In an article by V. Brants, in Volume XXII of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, p. 88.

The Judge: Let me see that volume. (Reads, with a growing frown.) This is very peculiar. I fail to understand the relevance of the theory held by St. Athanasius on the Redemption to the present issue. There is nothing else here, nothing whatever about de Lugo or "sweating." I—.

C.D.: My Lord, it is a simple mistake of reference. My learned friend meant Volume XIII, and not XXII.

The Judge: Indeed. Let us hope there are no more mistakes of reference. They waste time and are quite irregular in a case of this kind.¹ (He is handed Vol. XIII, opened at p. 88.) Yes, I now see the passage, but it is a mere footnote in French: "Le Cardinal de Lugo dit que le salaire qui ne donne pas à l'ouvrier de quoi se nourrir et se vêtir décemment, et à fortiori de quoi entretenir sa famille, n'est pas toujours injuste."²

C.D.: You are aware that de Lugo wrote in Latin? Is this passage, a mere footnote in the French paraphrase of another man, the sole ground of your charge against the accused? *C.P.*: Yes.

C.D.: Did you take the trouble to look up the reference which is supplied in the footnote by Brants, though you do not reproduce it in your charge?

C.P.: My Lord, I object strongly to that question.

C.D.: Very good. I shall not press it, but crave permission instead to read an extract from an old document that

¹ The whole subject of Dr. Robertson's most peculiar methods of reference will be discussed in another place.

² *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, tome XIII, No. 1, p. 88, n. 1. Louvain, 15 janvier, 1912.

bears on the point. (The Judge having signified assent, Counsel proceeded to read from a large Latin tome, afterwards putting the passage into English as follows) :

They are to know that they must pass judgment on the various opinions and views contained in every book with a mind free from all prejudice. Let them, therefore, shake off inclinations in favour of nation, family, school, or manner of living, and put aside party zeal... And this also, we admonish, is to be carefully borne in mind, that no right judgment on the true sense of an author can be formed unless his book is read from end to end, the statements made in various places of it compared together, and the author's whole design and intention diligently taken into consideration. Nor must judgment be pronounced on the book from inspection and examination of one or other proposition contained therein, isolated from its context, for it often happens that what is set down by an author perfunctorily and obscurely in one part of his work is explained distinctly, fully and clearly in another part, so that the obscurity shrouding the previous expression of the proposition, which made it appear to have an ill meaning, is completely dissipated, and the proposition is recognized to be free from all blemish.

The Judge: That is an excellent statement of the rules governing evidence taken from books. I am sure that, not only all men of our profession, but all qualified and upright men of any profession, would endorse these words. But you have not said who wrote them.

C.D. : They are the third and fourth of five rules laid down by Pope Benedict XIV, for the procedure of the Congregations of the Inquisition and Index.¹

The Judge : Well, well, well ! (Laughter.)

C.P. : My Lord, the citation is irrelevant, as the Defence do not contest the accuracy of the passage taken from de Lugo. That passage clearly shows him approving of sweated labour, if words mean anything, so we have no need of further witness.

C.D. : All the same I now call my first. Will you kindly tell the Court what you know about Juan de Lugo. Was he the sort of person whom one might expect to approve of "sweating" ?

¹ In a Constitution of July 9, 1753. *Bullarium Romanorum Pontificum. Sanctissimi D.N. Benedicti Papae XIV Bullarium*, tomus quartus, p. 74. Romae Typis H. Mainardi, 1758.

C.P.: My Lord, I object. This is evidence of character which is deemed in law to be irrelevant to any inquiry respecting conduct.

The Judge: Not in criminal cases.¹

C.D. (*to witness*): Is there any incident or course of conduct in de Lugo's life that would tend to show he had no sympathy with the practice of "sweating"? *Witness:* Yes; when, after professing theology with great distinction at the Gregorian University for twenty years, he was raised to the purple in 1643 by Pope Urban VIII, who at the same time fixed on him an income suitable to his new position, he began at once to spend over a thousand gold pieces annually on the indigent people of Rome, retaining for himself only enough to live in the most retired and modest fashion.² Nor did he commit the distribution of his charities to other hands, but himself went daily among the poor, bringing them food, money and medicines, including the famous Peruvian Bark which had been introduced shortly before from the Spanish Colonies. For long afterwards the people of Rome continued to call the remedy "De Lugo's powder."

C.D.: Was de Lugo a representative Jesuit theologian? *Witness:* Absolutely, as may be seen by consulting, not only the textbooks or treatises of modern Jesuit writers, but the textbooks and treatises of de Lugo's own Jesuit contemporaries. He and Lessius are two of the commonest authorities whom they cite.

C.P.: Which would only seem to show that all Jesuits approve of sweating!

The Judge: Is de Lugo not mentioned in the "Lettres Provinciales"? *Witness:* Yes, my Lord, just once, or rather a "P. Lugo" is mentioned whom scholars assume to have been meant for the Cardinal.

The Judge: It would seem, then, that Pascal didn't know he had been made a Cardinal? *Witness:* Quite possibly, my Lord. There were a lot of things Pascal didn't know. De Lugo's works were published at Lyons four years before the first of the "Provinciales" came out and de Lugo was beyond all question the best-accredited Jesuit theologian of that period. Yet there is no indication that Pascal ever troubled to read a page of him. He knew his job too well and preferred to play, like a comfortable cat, with such a hap-

¹ Stephen, "A Digest of the Law of Evidence," fifth edition, p. 66. London, 1899.

² Hurter, "Nomenclator Literarius," Vol. I, p. 693. Innsbruck, 1871.

less mouse as Père Etienne Bauny. Indeed, it was in opposition to poor Bauny that he cited de Lugo—at second hand.

C.D.: Dr. Robertson, the Prosecutor in this case, quotes Père Bauny, whose name he spells incorrectly as Bauni, four times in illustration of the laxity of Jesuit moral teaching. Would you consider Bauny a representative Jesuit theologian in the same sense as de Lugo? *Witness*: No; the 23,000 Jesuits now alive would expire of astonishment at the idea. I should be surprised if 20,000 of them had ever heard of Père Bauny. They are not, as a rule, great students of the "Lettres Provinciales." All the same, the Court may like to know that, despite some indiscretions of opinion as a theologian, Bauny was a man of extremely austere life and died a victim of his consuming love for God and his neighbour.

C.D.: Now, will you kindly let us have the context of the incriminated passage in de Lugo. (*Witness* reads):

That is considered a just wage for a household employee which amounts at least to the lowest grade of wage usually paid to such persons in that locality for that type of work. But observe that you must not argue, in estimating the just wage due, from the fact that some people may be in the habit of giving more to their servants. For, generally speaking, nobles and gentlemen are accustomed to give more than is usual to their servants. . .

Nor, in the third place, is even that wage always unjust which does not suffice for the proper maintenance and clothing of the servant, and, much less so, one with which the servant may not be able to support himself, his wife and his children. For the case occurs where the service rendered is not deserving of so large a wage, and many are satisfied with the one given them because they are able at the same time to attend to other business whereby they may supply and provide for themselves what is lacking for their sustenance and clothing, as Molina observes, n. 2.

The Judge: From this it would appear that when de Lugo said a non-living wage need not necessarily be unjust, he was not thinking of full-time wage-earners, as we know them, who derive no advantage from their work beyond the wage

given for it, and are not allowed time to make good its possible shortcomings by employing their energies in other directions? *Witness*: That is so, my Lord, for he goes on to illustrate what he means from the cases of apprentices, choristers, pages in noble families and others. These make a bargain with the parties they serve and, as we know from universal practice, are not only willing to take less than what we call a living wage, but even to pay for the concomitant opportunities of training and education which are put within their reach. Nobody has ever questioned the fairness of such arrangements.

C.D.: Has de Lugo anything to say about the wage due to a servant who makes no stipulation as to terms? *Witness*: Yes, but it must be admitted that his treatment of the point is rather sketchy. Indeed, he admits it himself, and refers the reader to other sections of his work for further enlightenment. However, here is the passage for what it is worth :

It is commonly asked what wage a master is obliged to give when the servant enters into no agreement but serves him, leaving the matter to his judgment and determination. The answer is that he is obliged to give a just wage, such as is commonly and usually given to others for work of the same kind, which sometimes will embrace only food and clothing, and other times more or less than that. But if a master who is under obligation to support his servant does not give him the food which is ordinarily and commonly given to servants of that particular kind, and the same holds with regard to clothing when he has a duty to supply it, then he does not satisfy justice, nor are servants to be blamed who, in such circumstances and unable without great difficulty to obtain their rights, secretly take from their master's goods what is necessary for their sustenance.¹

The Judge: So far, then, from approving "sweating" de Lugo was willing to allow servants to take the law into their own hands in order to obtain their rights? *Witness*: Yes, my Lord, but only when circumstances made it impossible or extremely difficult for them to obtain redress in a court of justice. He goes into the whole matter of "occult compensation" at great length in another place.

¹ Joannis de Lugo, "Disputationes scholasticae et morales." Editio nova. Tome VII, pp. 456-457. Paris, 1869. "Tractatus de Justitia et Jure." Disputatio XXIX, sectio iii, n. 62.

C.P. : But is not the principle of common custom, as a method of deciding just wages, open to serious abuse? *Wilness* : Yes, it is, but it was the fairest principle men could think of in those days before the organization of industry as we now know it. The Puritan, Richard Baxter, whom the Prosecutor in this case quotes with approval, insisted on it very strongly, though he fell so far short of perfection as to say that "you must not take *too* great advantage," in buying or selling, of another man's convenience or desire. This, according to the Prosecutor, is the conservative side of Baxter, but there was a more advanced side, too, which "rather guardedly approved agrarian Capitalism," and on that side the worthy man is described as "furthest from the old Puritan and nearest to the Jesuit."¹ If we consult the Jesuit, however, in this case de Lugo, we find that, though he admits fluctuations in the market value of commodities, including labour, through external, objective causes, he absolutely denies that one can justly take, not "too great advantage," but *any* advantage whatsoever of another man's subjective convenience or desire. It would be rank injustice, he says, to sell dearer than the current market price merely because the purchaser had great need of the object or could turn it through private skill to great advantage. That principle applies to the purchase or hire of labour in exactly the same way as it does to the purchase or hire of goods.²

(At this point the Jury asked that the case should be stopped and the Judge agreed, remarking that it ought never to have been brought to action. As the Court rose an old lady at the back was heard to mutter: "All the same, I am quite sure the Jesuits approve of 'sweating.' Everybody knows what they are like.")

J. BRODRICK.

¹ "Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism," p. 17.

² De Lugo, "De Justitia et Jure." Disp. XXVI, sectio iv, nn. 38, 43. Paris edition of his works (1869), Vol. VII, pp. 273, 275.

DARK DAYS

A COUPLE of months before the great German offensive of March, 1918, my battalion, under the system of reduced brigades which had been enforced by our recent heavy losses, was detached from the old 15th Division with which it had first come overseas three years earlier, and transferred to the Scottish Brigade of the 35th Division, then lying in the Ypres sector. I did not go with it immediately, as the official attachment of chaplains was not to battalions but to brigades, and it was some weeks before I was able to catch the A.P.C. at Bapaume and have my transfer arranged. But in the meantime a Church of England chaplain had been appointed in my place, so that at first I found myself occupying the very unstable position of a supernumerary, for no one had ever heard of two chaplains in one battalion. The C.O. said that it made him feel like a bishop. However, my new colleague and I became good friends at once, and together we shared some very mixed fortunes until, about a month later, he was transferred to another unit of the same brigade.

When I rejoined it early in March the Battalion was out at rest some three miles north-east of Poperinghe, close to the Cistercian Abbey of St. Sixte. The "rest" did not last long. Before the week was out the preliminaries of the great offensive, rumours of which had been waxing and waning for some time past, commenced in the familiar form of long-distance shelling of the back areas. Our camp was clustered about the railhead, an obvious target for this kind of fire, and during the remainder of our stay in it we were subjected night and day to hourly outbursts of shelling.

On the night of March 21st we learnt that the long-expected offensive had begun in the Somme area. The first news that reached us was cheering. The attack, we heard, had been held up, or at least had made but little headway, and the enemy had suffered heavily. Next day there must have been intelligence to hand of a very different nature, for we found ourselves under orders to break camp and proceed immediately southwards. Our precise destination was, of course, known only to those in command. Accordingly, in the early hours of Saturday, the 23rd, while it was still dark, we

marched out to our entraining station some six or seven miles away.

Apparently the enemy advance (about which we had no illusions now) was threatening our lateral railway communications, for we followed a very circuitous route to Amiens, our destination. The train, too, went very much faster than we had ever known a troop-train in the war-zone to travel before—some ten or twelve miles an hour being what we were most accustomed to.

We were a very hilarious party in our carriage : but of the six who occupied it, four were to die within forty-eight hours.

We arrived at Amiens at about seven o'clock in the evening—or “19.00 hours,” as it was then styled—to find the platforms crowded with wounded from the Péronne front, and filling up again as fast as they were cleared. I think it was then that we first began really to understand the gravity of the situation. By all accounts, the enemy was advancing in very great force and with extraordinary rapidity. At the village of Heilly we detrained—always a long and weary performance—and somewhere between ten and eleven o'clock we set off on our march to Bray, about nine miles distant.

For the first part of the way there was nothing to enliven our progress, but as we neared Bray we met a long-drawn procession of refugees and non-combatants plodding wearily and silently down the road. There were old men (the young men of France were elsewhere) pushing their wives and children along in wheelbarrows or walking by the side of farm-carts piled high with bedding and such furniture and provisions as they had had time to remove, often with a cow or two, or a pig, or a few sheep, tied to the cart-tail or driven before them. Mixed up with them were men belonging to labour battalions, who had been marching continuously from Péronne, or even from St. Quentin, and from these we were able to glean a little (rather confused and contradictory) news. Péronne had fallen and the enemy was pressing rapidly on—that was the sum of it all.

Soon the long trail of refugees gave place to a more ominous procession, and we had to squeeze up to one side to let the retiring heavy guns pound and grind down the road past us. Their number seemed to be endless, and the sight did not lead to cheering reflections—we were going in, and the guns were coming out !

By the time that we had reached the outskirts of Bray we learnt that the enemy was no more than five or six miles dis-

tant, and we were given only a couple of hours' rest before pushing on to meet him. Our brigade was now attached to the 9th Scottish Division, and we found ourselves in the right-centre of Gough's Fifth Army. At five o'clock in the morning we fell in and set off for Maricourt.

It was a beautiful morning, and the broad highway from Bray to Maricourt was alive with movement: but, except for ourselves, the traffic was almost entirely in the opposite direction. We were buoyed up, however, by circumstantial rumours of the speedy arrival of a French and an American corps. Needless to say these rumours, like ninety-nine in a hundred of similar stories (as, for instance, that of the capture of Ostend and the landing of four Divisions on the Belgian coast) had no foundation in either fact or likelihood. But we believed these fictions, and they helped to keep us hopeful; whereas the perfectly true story of the bombardment of Paris at a range of seventy-five miles we scouted as altogether ridiculous.

Except for a rare shell-burst at long and varying intervals, which accentuated rather than disturbed the silence, an uncanny peace brooded over the scene. With memories of Martinpuich and Le Sars, of Arras and Ypres, in our minds it was difficult to realize that this was a battle. We knew that the enemy was before us, just over the rim of low hills that skirted the open moorland over which we were advancing, and we knew that he was probably creeping round our flanks; but there was hardly a shot fired on either side to remind one of these facts.

Arrived at the base of the low barrier of hills, the Battalion H.Q. established itself beside a withered tree-trunk, the M.O., the Church of England padre and I, the medical sergeant and two orderlies, found a shell-hole just behind them in which we set up our aid-post, and three companies advanced to the attack. Our fourth company was still some way behind. We lay and watched our line deploying up the slope and disappearing over the top. Still not a shot. A tank, returning from a reconnaissance, lurched and rooted past us. An aeroplane snored overhead. In front were nothing but vacancy and silence.

Before long our three companies reappeared on the crest of the hill. They had located the enemy, but had at the same time discovered that he had pushed far forward on both our flanks and was in a very fair way to encircle us completely in our present location. As our flanks were very precariously

defended—were practically open, in fact—there was nothing for it but to fall back upon our former position astride the Maricourt-Maurepas road, and this we did to the accompaniment of a *crescendo* fire of heavy shrapnel, which followed us with remarkable accuracy back across the moor. Our casualties, as it happened, were only two killed and four or five wounded. But retreat of this sort was a new and disquieting experience for us, and I think that we all felt more than a little bewildered and uneasy.

It was now just after five o'clock in the afternoon. The position was extremely anxious, and we found great difficulty in getting into touch with the Brigade. The C.O. therefore sent a runner with instructions to find it at all costs, and decided that if he received no orders by seven o'clock he would fall back to Maricourt.

Seven o'clock came and no orders had reached us, so with some relief we fell in for the withdrawal. It was getting dark : the enemy had almost certainly begun to descend the hill barrier towards us, and the frequent appearance of stragglers from other units, each claiming to be the sole survivor of his platoon or company, bred in us no desire to dawdle over our preparations. When we started it was nearly dark. We had gone about half the distance towards our destination and had reached the lowest part of the road where it dipped into a narrow valley just below Favières Wood, when a Brigade-runner met us with orders to remain in the valley and to hold it at all costs against the impending attack of the enemy. I make no claim to any military science : but it still seems to me, as it most emphatically did then, that there could hardly be a less satisfactory way of disposing oneself to arrest the advance of a hostile force than to await it at the bottom of a valley. However, there was the order, and we had no choice but to obey. . Almost simultaneously with the receipt of this message an enemy Vérey light went up not much more than 500 yards away on our right flank and rather behind it.

In accordance with the best military traditions the M.O. and I then set about making sure of our rear communications, for strict orders had been issued by the A.D.M.S. (the Divisional chief of medical service) that medical officers should take every reasonable precaution against possible capture. Then we returned to the valley and awaited events.

The battalion was now in position. Outposts, sentries, signallers, Lewis-gunners and all other details were in their places. Silence was of the first importance : so, after giving

a whispered General Absolution to the dark clusters of men about me, I lay down on the slope amongst them and set to wondering what was going to happen. Artillery fire was very intermittent, and in the long, silent intervals so close had the enemy approached that we could distinctly hear the clank and rumble of his advance and even at times the sound of a shouted word of command. We knew the weakness of our position and the openness of our flanks : we knew nothing of any supports or reserves : and I believe that the great majority of us expected nothing better than a quick death or capture—and the Germans were not then inclined to trouble much about prisoners. I do not think that I was afraid, but I felt rather sickish.

I had been lying thus for some twenty minutes when, finding the ground too bumpy for comfort, I and a young officer who was beside me (he was killed some weeks later in Aveluy Wood) got up and strolled down to the road a dozen feet away. We had not taken more than a step or two along it when suddenly the darkness was split by flash after flash of blinding light, and the valley was swept by a swirl of machine-gun fire. The bullets whined and swished through the air and smacked viciously on the hard road. At the same time magnesium-flares were flung into the valley, and the night was filled with a babel of ferocious shouts and yells. We turned, and amidst the scurry of men leaping to their feet and snatching up their rifles we saw a small body of Germans charging up the road straight at us. I was, of course, unarmed : my leather jerkin and tin-hat hid my chaplain's insignia : and to be taken prisoner (even if that had been likely to happen at such a time) was unthinkable. So, while they were still some distance from us I side-stepped into the ditch, and under cover of an interval of darkness succeeded in reaching the main road, which cut at right-angles across the valley. Almost precisely similar circumstances had befallen the M.O., and together we backed down the road, remembering thankfully how we had reconnoitred it earlier in the evening. Imagine, therefore, our feelings when at the end of perhaps 100 yards we found ourselves up against a frame of barbed-wire fixed across our path. How it had come there we could not think, but luckily it was not very thick, and we were able to get over it at the cost of a rent or two. For myself, some mysterious instinct must have guided me through the less obstructive parts, for all my thoughts were concentrated on the back of my head, where I every instant expected

to receive one of the bullets which were singing and snapping all about us. It was not many minutes, however, before "A" Company, upon whom the brunt of this attack had fallen, got their Lewis-gun into play and the raiders were for the time thrown back with the loss of half-a-dozen prisoners and some dead and wounded.

The battalion now drew back from the valley to a better position above it in Favières Wood, and here for nearly twelve hours we maintained ourselves against terrible odds. Out-numbered, out-maneuvred, short of ammunition, with both flanks in the air, almost surrounded, we attacked again and again, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy in killed and wounded and actually capturing over eighty prisoners and twelve machine-guns. But at a cost. Our Commanding Officer, Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Anderson, fell at the head of a company while leading a counter-attack. He was awarded a posthumous V.C. for his gallantry on that terrific day, and later his example and heroic death were cited by Marshal Foch in an address to a famous Scottish Division. Besides the Colonel, five of our best officers were killed and five wounded, all in hand-to-hand fighting.

That night and the following day will not easily be forgotten by those who lived through them. Possibly (though one finds a difficulty in believing it) there was some definite plan in the minds of the superior (and remote) Command, and it may be that they issued conformable orders which perhaps did reach those in charge on the field and may have been carried out by them. But the hypothesis which best fits the facts, as we ourselves saw them at first hand, is that there was no other plan and there were no other orders than what every officer and every N.C.O. and man interpreted for himself in the desperate endeavour of each and all to hold up and throw back, at any hazard and by any available means, the enemy immediately before him. From tree to tree, over and behind dykes and ditches and walls, in and out among the piled up lumber of a builder's yard, the fight surged and swayed backwards and forwards. It was a soldiers' battle, with bomb and bayonet and rifle and machine-gun, and the shells that swooped overhead crashed unheeded into the abandoned huts and empty roadways far in our rear. One lost all reckoning of aim or order or direction. It ought to have felt like the end of everything. But with that bewildering in consequence which always seemed to fall like a fog upon one's senses when things were most desperate, we were far less

conscious of the frightful perils that assaulted us than of the urgency of our desire for food and tobacco and sleep. When at length the fabulous odds against us enforced a withdrawal the battalion had lost half its effectives. But it was not a defeated, much less a disorganized, body of men that fell back on Bray and Morlancourt. It was still fighting, still formidable, ever and again turning to face, and to beat back, the advancing waves of the enemy, up to the last taking prisoners from him against odds of twenty to one until, as if at a signal, the offensive ceased and we were able in the failing light to draw our scattered units together again into some sort of cohesion.

When darkness fell at the end of the second day it was obvious that Bray would have to be evacuated. Few shells had as yet fallen in the town, but Maricourt was lost, and the vast enveloping movement of the enemy made the place absolutely untenable. So about 10 p.m. on Monday, the 25th, we began the distasteful business of retreat.

It was a weary march. We had had no more than two or three hours' sleep since the preceding Friday night, and this was the fourth successive *nuit blanche*. One was conscious as one stumbled along of frequent intervals of a benumbing torpor, hardly to be distinguished from sleep, in which one moved machine-wise with the rest of the machine and in the midst of a kind of waking nightmare exchanged irrelevant and incoherent remarks with one's neighbours. At Morlancourt we halted for an hour or two and "drummed up" some sort of a meal, and then off again, sleep-walking among returning limbers and whippet-tanks until, close to Henencourt, we lay down in a field of growing wheat swept by a withering east wind and waited while what was left of the Battalion sorted itself out, as well as might be, into at least the semblance of companies and platoons. We were much amused to see, in an illustrated newspaper which reached us some time later, a picture entitled "British Transport and Reserves Moving up to the Line," which we, who knew the place too well, recognized as a photograph of Henencourt with our own Battalion, and some other units in like case with ourselves, steadily retreating in the opposite direction.

It is difficult to understand why the Germans did not press the immense advantage which they now possessed. It would have cost them little to push on at once to Amiens, sever the arterial railway-line to Paris, and by so doing force the British Army back upon the Channel ports : for the inundation of the

low-lying country between St. Omer and the sea, which was to have been the last desperate throw for bare safety, was not at that time even in its first stages of preparation. One can only conclude that in this instance, as so often before and after, our enemies defeated themselves by over-estimating the military foresight of their opponents. They must have believed (quite mistakenly, as we know) that we had provided ourselves with a sufficiency of reserves to meet such an emergency as had overtaken us. In point of fact we had done no such thing. Our own Commander-in-Chief had expected the attack (the imminence of which had been common knowledge for weeks past) in quite a different sector, and the Allied General Staff was in the grip of an invincible optimism which triumphed over, or at least survived, even such a hideous expense of life and material as would have sufficed for a dozen wars of an earlier generation.

On this particular Front, however, the German advance was finally held up and remained practically stationary until the day when the last tremendous and victorious counter-thrust of the Allies began. But north and south of us gigantic onslaughts succeeded one another for many weeks to come, and the issue between victory and disaster trembled again and again upon a knife-edge. Though for us the situation had become to all intents and purposes static we yet had many engagements, offensive or otherwise, to face, and many long anxious weeks to endure, in positions where the normal trench-system had broken down, and we lay strung out along the Line in ditches, behind banks, among thickets fortified with earthworks and wattled screens, or under the heaped-up ruins of outlying farmhouses.

During this period I had an adventure which, though it was very commonplace in itself, might yet have had an extremely unpleasant ending for me. Within a day or two of our final halt at the end of the retreat from Maricourt what remained of our brigade was ordered to attack, one sunny afternoon, over the open ground south-east of Henencourt, with the object of securing the village of Buire, on the Ancre, which commanded the most easily fordable reaches of that river. As the men lay waiting in Artillery Formation for the signal to advance I crawled about on all fours from one group to another seeking out my R.C.'s. While I was thus engaged, an officer belonging to one of the other battalions of the brigade approached me by the same mode of progression and, revolver in hand, asked me who I was and what I was doing.

Fantastic stories were at this time in circulation of the presence behind our lines of German spies in British uniforms, and this young man was doing no more than his duty in thus questioning me. I answered that I was the chaplain of the 12th H.L.I., and after a little hesitation he lowered his revolver and allowed me to proceed.

That was all right, and there was no reason to think anything more about the incident. It was not until later that I realized how near I had been to an ignominious death when I learnt that this officer had only just come out from home and therefore knew nothing of any battalion but his own, for had he not been a stranger he would have been aware that at that time not I but T. (my Church of England colleague) was the only authentic and official chaplain of the 12th H.L.I., since our transfer had not yet been completed, and in this new brigade I was still almost unknown outside my own battalion. And in that case there is little doubt but that he would have shot me out of hand for a spy.

R. H. J. STEUART.

The Last Gathering of the Clans

THE loneliness of Death—is it so great?
We question, charmed by these wild restful spots,
These Highland gathering-grounds where congregate
God's children, fast asleep as in their cots.

Lonely? Beneath those vast and friendly skies
Where broods a gentle Presence, strong to bless,
Pouring love-beams from all its myriad eyes?
Alone with God were never loneliness.

And when God's pibrochs wake th' whole human race,
No more—Hope cries—divided then shall be
Body and Soul, claspt in the close embrace
Of sweet companionship and unity,

What time the Clans renewed, in mass'd array,
March to the triumph of eternal day.

ROMUALD ALEXANDER, O.S.B.

LESSONS FROM CHINA

HERE are many people who suppose that the Chinese are now largely adopting western ideas and that they have dismissed their old conceptions of the moral foundations of society. I have always found, however, in my personal contact with the Chinese that their attitude towards western learning was very largely that of people who merely wished to use western ideas and western inventions without really changing their fundamental outlook, or without wrenching themselves from moral traditions and customs deeply embedded in their characters by the habits of their forefathers for thousands of years. The Chinese have been so accustomed in the past to find moral principles as a basis for all their official acts that even Sun Yat Sen, revolutionary and socialist as he was, even he I say, did not propound in his scheme of things a mere basis of utilitarianism but announced moral precepts as postulates for a new state of affairs. The following quotation from a Memorial submitted by the Censor Wu Ko-tu in 1873, shows that the Chinese at that period felt that all action should be referred to moral principles. It would be absurd to suppose that the Chinese always acted in accordance with what they professed, but they paid the tribute of attempting at least to argue that their actions were instigated by attention to high morality. The Memorial of the Censor shows the contempt which the Chinese had for the western foreign nations. I will only quote part of it :—

They [foreign nations] have made some score of Treaties with China containing at least ten thousand written characters. Is there a word in any one of them concerning reverence for parents, or the cultivation of virtue and respect for the nine canons of rightful conduct? No! Is there one word in any one of them as to the observance of ceremony, as to duty, integrity and a proper sense of shame, the four cardinal principles of our nation? Again No! All they speak of is material profit. Such and such a clause implies benefits or profits for China. They think only of profits, and with the meretricious hope of profit they beguile the Chinese people. These men know not even the meaning of duty and cere-

mony, wisdom and good faith, yet we profess, forsooth, to expect them to act as if they were endowed with the five cardinal virtues ! They know not the meaning of the heaven-ordained relationship between Sovereign and Minister, between father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, friend and friend—yet we propose to require them to conform to the five principles of duty. It seems to me that one might as well bring together dogs and horses, goats and pigs, in a public hall and compel these creatures to perform the evolutions of the dance.

This outspoken Memorial would largely represent the attitude of the old literati towards foreigners, but the point I wish to accentuate is this: that the writer of the Memorial is shocked by the fact that the Treaties with foreigners contained no moral maxims or references to any motives except those of expediency and gain. I am not maintaining that the Chinese were immune from avarice or other serious evils—far from it—but they always did lay stress on what they considered were the ethical ideals forming the foundation of their society. In spite of the intrusion of western ideas and the crumbling away of the cement of civilization all over the world, in spite of all that, the main body of the Chinese still cling to their old-fashioned ideas. There are some who seem to think that a comparison between Canton twenty-five years ago and Canton to-day provides an object lesson in the development of western progress amongst the Chinese. I doubt it. In the west, people are apt to imagine that the use of inventions increasing the speed of life, as it were, by improvement in the rapidity of communications, and of inventions which improve the hygienic conditions of larger cities, are signs of real progress, but this view is founded on a false sense of values—on an assumption that material values are everything. It is the great heresy of the age.

I doubt, from what I know of the Chinese, that they would be satisfied to accept openly doctrines of materialism. They would always try to find some moral basis on which to found their social well-being. I have always held that if the Chinese once thoroughly understood what the Catholic Church stood for, they would accept her teachings, which fit in so well with many of the ideas they have inherited. I am not in any way upholding the old state of affairs under the literati. The literati were an ignorant and bigoted body, with enormous conceit as to the superiority of China over all other nations,

and full of the belief that China alone was truly civilized. They were no friends to the Catholic missionaries, but, in spite of that, thousands and thousands of Chinese accepted the Catholic Faith, and in Peking, where I was during most of my residence in China, there were a great number of Catholic families who had held the Faith through many periods of martyrdom, culminating in 1900, when thousands of them preferred to suffer death rather than to conform to the Boxer rites.

In that fascinating book, "Indiscreet Letters from Peking," written by the late Mr. Lennox Simpson, under the *nom-de-plume* "B. Putnam Weale," there is a passage which gives testimony to the Catholicity of the converts in Peking which is worth quoting. The writer was not a Catholic. This is what he says:—

The servants of polite Peking society are favoured mortals, for they are one and all of the Eight Banners, direct descendants of the Manchu conquerors of China, and, strangely enough, although they are thus directly tied to the Manchu dynasty, and that some of them may be even Red Girdles or lineal descendants of collateral branches of the Imperial house, they are still more tightly tied to the foreigner because they are Roman Catholics, dating from the early days of Verbiest and Schall, when the Jesuits were all supreme. On Sundays and feast days they all proceed to the Vicar Apostolic's own Northern Cathedral and witness the elevation of the Host to the discordant and strange sound of Chinese fire-crackers, a curious accompaniment indeed, permitted only by Catholic complacency. This they love more than the Throne.

The writer of this is describing the state of affairs in Peking just when the Boxer movement was coming to a head. I will quote another passage, which is interesting because it describes characteristics of the Peking Catholics which I know from my own observation to be true.

The three Roman Catholic cathedrals of Peking, placed at three points of the compass, are almost strategic centres, surrounded by whole lanes and districts of Catholics captured to the tenets of Christ. Every household of these people during the past few weeks has seen fellow religionists from the country places running in sorely distressed in mind and body, and but ill-equipped

in money and means for this impromptu escape to the capital, which everyone vainly hopes generally is to be a sanctuary. The refugees, it is true, do not receive all the sympathy they expect, for the Peking Catholic, being the oldest and most mature in the eighteen provinces of China, holds his head very high, and "new people"—that is, those whose families have only been baptized, let us say, during the 19th century, are somewhat disdained. In a word, the Peking cathedrals and their Manchu and other adherents are the Blacks; and not even in Papal Rome could this aristocracy in religion be excelled.

I am sure my readers will find those two extracts interesting. I know that before I went to Peking I had a very vague notion about the progress the Church had made in China, and I had no conception whatever of the faith and steadfastness of these Chinese Catholics.

These early Jesuit missionaries whom Mr. Simpson refers to fully understood the reverence which the Chinese had for Art. They obtained from France the recipe for making cloisonné work, and also for enamelling metal dishes and vases. These two trades still survive in Peking and are entirely in the hands of the Catholics. In some of the 17th century enamel one finds extraordinary designs of people in costumes of the Court of Louis the Fourteenth, but still with something indescribably Chinese about them. One also comes across enamel designs showing the Crucifixion or some sacred subject, but these examples are rare now, and most of them have been taken off the market by collectors.

The Emperor Kang-Hsi, who reigned about the same time as Louis the Fourteenth in France, very nearly became a Catholic. The Chinese and their Manchu conquerors had an enormous respect for their language as well as for calligraphy. The precise meaning and use of words was of the greatest importance because superior style in writing led to great advancement in official life. Now the word the Chinese use to express the idea of Almighty God, in other words, the Chinese expression which is usually translated as "Heaven," was held by the Jesuits to be applicable to the Christian idea of Almighty God the Creator of Heaven and Earth. When the Christian idea was explained to him, Kang-Hsi agreed with the Jesuits (and he was a great Chinese scholar) that their contention was correct. He was very inclined towards Christianity. The Dominican missionaries in China, how-

ever, took another view. They held that the Chinese word was not applicable to Almighty God. The question was of great importance and was referred to Rome for decision. The Pope appointed a Legate and ultimately, after some years, the decision was given in favour of the Dominican contention. The result of this was that Kang-Hsi got into a violent rage. He said he understood that if he accepted Christianity he would be bound to submit to the Pope's decision in matters of faith and morals, but that when the Pope took it upon himself to decide the meaning of a word in a language he did not understand, against the decision of the greatest scholars in China, he was not going to have anything more to do with the whole business. He initiated a persecution against the Church.¹

The original religion of the Chinese was undoubtedly the worship of one true God, the Creator and Lord of Heaven and Earth. The Emperor, who was supposed to be the representative of Heaven on earth, yearly sacrificed black oxen at the Temple of Heaven, just as Abraham or Isaac might have done. I have often visited the Temple of Heaven, just outside Peking, where the sacrifices were made. The altar consisted of a large marble platform, to which ascent was made by flights of marble steps. Every year, until the downfall of the monarchy, the Emperor made his sacrifice on this altar. Scholars agree that this, the original religion of the Chinese, was a pure one, but gradually heresies crept in, one of the first being to regard the attributes of God as separate Deities. Buddhism did not come to China till about the time of the Christian Era.

It always seems a pity to me that more attention has not been paid to the history of China and the characteristics of this great people. They number about one-third of the human race, and they have an unbroken civilization dating back to days before the foundation of Rome. Will this great Empire become Christian? It is comforting to us here in Ireland to know that many missionaries from our own country are now there, and that the Irish Province of the great Order of the Jesuits has been selected by the Pope to establish a university in Southern China.

FFRENCH.

¹ The matter was not at all so simple as is here suggested. There were many other points of variance between the Jesuits and other missionaries. See for a brief and impartial account of the dispute and its consequences "Clement the Eleventh and the Chinese Rites," by Joseph Rickaby, S.J., *THE MONTH*, September, 1891, p. 70.—[ED.]

ANGLICANISM MERELY A SCHISM?

HERE is no heresy more widespread in Christendom to-day than that which is the actual source of its lamentable divisions, viz., the denial of the essential unity and uniqueness of the Church—the organization originally created by God Incarnate and endowed by Him with inerrancy and perpetuity. There are multitudes of Christians, schismatical and heretical, who reject that dogma. Over against them stands the changeless teaching of the Catholic Faith—that there can be only one true Church, and that its members, too, must needs be one in belief, worship and government. To deny this is also to deny that Our Lord abides with His Church for ever, keeping her united, and that the Holy Spirit teaches her all truth, making her inerrant. This the schismatics and the heretics are compelled by the necessity of their position to deny; some holding that from a lack of power or prevision, Christ's attempt to found a permanent Church failed, or even that He never meant to found a Church at all; others, juggling with theories of the Church, and persuading themselves that, though real, the Church is invisible, or that she embraces all Christians, however varied in rule and organization, or contradictory in belief and practice. Divine Truth, they say, is too vast to be confined to any one Body: it has to be shared by many through whose union alone, complementing or correcting, it can be fully known. The "Holy Catholic Church" of their creeds is the sum of all these fragments. Clearly, the unity of Christendom can never be regained so long as sincere and earnest men hold these illogical views.

Yet the scandal of dissent, through the mercy of God, increasingly oppresses these dissidents, and the longing for unity grows. Gone is the complacency with which the first sectaries each set up a private tabernacle in utter scorn of the visible organized Church. To those who think, the embattled hosts of atheism whose single aim is the overthrow of faith in God, form a further motive to close the Christian ranks before the clash comes. It is, therefore, of the very first importance to secure a general agreement about the nature of Christ's Church. For lack of this the imposing "World Conference on Faith and Order," assembled to dis-

cuss Christian reunion at Lausanne in 1927, finally issued in failure. It indeed formally discussed the "Nature of the Church," yet, since none of the hundred divergent sects then present could be excluded from Church membership, no workable definition was reached. Moreover, the question of Church Authority, the most vital of all since it is the basis and bond of unity, had to be expressly set aside, as likely to lead to endless contention. Until, therefore, all Christ's followers can settle amongst themselves what was Christ's purpose in founding His Church, and what was His conception of her functions, and what powers and duties He entrusted to it, their aspirations for union must be vain. All that He meant to do is clearly set down in the New Testament: unhappily, not only do all "not obey the Gospel," but very many do not even believe the Gospel. For them the Rationalists have destroyed the force of its witness, so they do not know what Christ intended. And they will not hear the Church, however she urges, *importune, opportune*, her divine claims.

She may not, on that account, cease to proclaim her witness. "How can they hear without a preacher?" If Catholics could consistently have assisted at Lausanne, the Conference would not have broken up without learning what Catholics, having in view her Founder's description and her historical development, conceive the Church to be. For we are alone in maintaining that she is a unique organization aptly compared by Christ to a Fold, that she teaches without ambiguity or inconsistency the whole divine revelation, and that she can never lose these characteristics of unity and authority. Otherwise God's absolute guarantee of them would be made void, and she could neither fold nor feed the flock entrusted to her. History has justified our faith and realized Our Lord's picture, for its records show that the rejection of Authority has been prolific in disunion: no other principle has been discovered, although incessantly sought for, capable of maintaining a consensus of belief in truths not attainable by reason and experiment. In no way can such unity be regained except by a return to the only method capable of producing it. A genuine desire for unity, therefore, is best tested by a readiness to consider what it requires—an authoritative centre of teaching and government—and by a rejection of that principle of religious autonomy, which is its direct opposite, and which is most manifest in non-Episcopal bodies.

It is the fashion for Episcopal "Churches," for those, at least, which claim unbroken Apostolical succession, to profess a theoretical regard for Authority, however little it affects practice. The early Church was so manifestly authoritarian, so stern in repressing heresy, so insistent on the obedience of faith, that anybody claiming continuity with the past must needs make some show of the like spirit. But it has always been merely show, not reality, and Episcopal "Churches" have proved as fissiparous in matters of belief as any of the "Bible-only" sects. The primary aim of the Oxford Movement a century ago was to discover and re-assert in Anglicanism the principle of ecclesiastical authority. But all in vain. The English Church remains as essentially dependent on the Civil Power, which brought it originally into being and issued its Articles of Religion as a schedule to an Act of Parliament. Its Prayer Book, also, which, it is claimed, better expresses its real belief than do the Articles, needs the consent of Parliament both for lawful use and revision.¹ This may be merely negative control, but ever since 1833, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (a lay assembly) was made the Supreme Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical cases, the civil power has actually undertaken to define what doctrines Anglicans may hold. It is true that a section—but only a section—of the Establishment has always protested against this action of the Crown: the rest sees no incongruity in it, any more than did the first Elizabethan bishops.

It may be readily granted that the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy never meant that the Elizabethan Church's civil Governor claimed to be, like the Pope, the source of purely spiritual powers, such as the capacity to offer sacrifice, to forgive sins, to ordain priests, or consecrate bishops, for supernatural functions. This claim Elizabeth expressly disallowed. Still, on the other hand, the functionaries whom she appointed never laid claim, on their own account, to any such powers. Not a member of the Elizabethan hierarchy, although some of them were in valid priest's Orders, but would have repudiated the possession of the sacerdotium in the old Catholic sense. The new Ordinal was expressly framed to exclude such a possibility. Thus what the Crown

¹ Laud, without professing to decide "what power a lay assembly (and such a Parliament is) hath to determine matters of religion, primely and originally by and of themselves, before the Church hath first agreed upon them," concluded—"Then, indeed, they may confirm or refuse. And this course was held in the Reformation." ("Works," Vol. IV, Part 1, p. 142.)

did not claim, the bishops did not want. All they asked for was the Royal commission to exercise their episcopacy in the "new religion," which they had combined with the Queen's lay advisers to set up. The pre-Elizabethan Church got its Orders and Jurisdiction from Rome: the Elizabethans dispensed with Orders and got jurisdiction from the Crown.¹ Elizabeth, who could not confer Orders, did give jurisdiction, such jurisdiction as her Establishment required. To still all doubts, and to supply all defects, regarding the ecclesiastical status of Parker and his consecrators, she did not hesitate to issue through Parliament, "by our supreme royal authority," a revalidating decree.² Thus it is that the authority exercised by the officials of Anglicanism over its clergy and laity is radically a civil authority, however ecclesiastical it may seem. The bishops administer the Church law, commission incumbents and curates, inhibit on occasion unworthy clerics, take their due and important part in outwardly controlling the workings of that great and wealthy corporation which stands in the place of the old Catholic Church of England. But this authority of government, such as it is, is absolutely divorced from what is far more important—authority to teach: so much so that even official Anglicanism has often disclaimed any such authority. It is not a mark of their Church. Let an Archbishop of Canterbury declare what many other prelates have since echoed—"When the clergyman is in the pulpit, the layman is not bound by what is said in his hearing. The layman has a right to exercise his private judgment" (*Charge of Archbishop Temple*, 1898). And, indeed, is not this "Note of Fallibility" implied in the XIXth Article which states that various Churches have erred in matters of faith—an Article which no Body, conscious of Christ's commission to teach, could ever have adopted? The new religion's abhorrence of Rome, its desire at all costs to mark its separation from Rome, led it thus to reject Rome's fundamental claim to interpret with certainty and to impose with authority God's revelation, even though the rejection nullified its own claim to represent the Church of Christ.

¹ "We may trace a perfect tradition in the English Church to the effect of the validity of non-episcopal orders, through a whole line of bishops, from Jewell in the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, through Whitgift, Bancroft, Andrewes, Overall, Morton, and Cosin, who died some twelve years after the passing of the last Act of Uniformity (1662)." Child, "Church and State under the Tudors."

² P.R.O. Dom. Eliz. vii. No. 56.

Unable to teach, powerless to tell its members with precision and finality the truth God wishes to convey to mankind through His Son, faced with this radical defect, Anglicanism has had recourse to the principle of **Comprehensiveness**, a suicidal device which does not conceal its doctrinal impotence and which results not merely in the existence of three main beliefs—the Evangelical, the Sacerdotalist and the Modernist—within its boundaries, but in endless subdivisions and combinations of the three. The principle is even elevated into an **Essential Note**, and attempts are also made to represent “**Comprehensive**” as equivalent to “**Catholic**,” as if the inability to determine what is true were the same as the possession of the whole truth. Yet the glaring inconsistency of posing as part of the Church which Christ appointed to teach all nations, and yet not being able to expel from communion those who deny Christ’s Divinity, or to decide whether the Eucharist is a real Sacrifice or a mere memorial service, has induced Anglican authorities to see if they cannot, after all, agree upon a definite *corpus* of doctrine. So, ten years ago, the Archbishops set up a Commission of all sections of their flock with this end in view. This Commission issued its eleventh annual report last month, in which it foreshadows the end of its labours, and adds—

It [the Commission] is increasingly encouraged to hope that its work may be effectual in demonstrating the existence of unity of belief throughout all sections of the Church of England, underlying even some of the most persistent controversies.

A pathetic optimism surely, for what basis can there be for unity of belief in suprasensible truth but an authoritative voice, divinely commissioned to teach with exactitude? What is there left for those who have closed their ears to that Teaching Voice by repudiating the successor of St. Peter and the Church founded on him? Even if the Commission finally agrees upon a definite Anglican creed, and even if—how impossible it sounds!—the entire bench of bishops unite in declaring it authentic, the members of that Church will feel just as free to pick and choose their personal faith as they are to-day. The fact is notorious. Anglican doctrines do not bind in conscience, because all they have behind them is human opinion. Attempts are occasionally made to fix the stigma of heresy on this or that rejection of Christian

faith, but they never succeed. The heretics flourish and are given preferment. Modernism, the claim to make reason the final judge in matters of supernatural revelation, has so strongly entrenched itself in the other two branches of the Establishment, that Dr. Major, a leading Modernist, can boast with truth that "all the leading English Churchmen of the Catholic and Evangelical Schools are Modernist to-day."¹

Notwithstanding all this, so essential is the Note of Authority felt to be in a Church claiming to be Christ's, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking at the opening of the Oxford Movement Centenary celebrations, claimed it again in the words—"The Church of England derives its authority, not from being by law established, but from being the divinely instituted, historic, Catholic Church." But the historic Catholic Church has always known what to teach, and has taught it as morally binding on the conscience of her members. When has Anglicanism done the like? How can it, without any fixed and certain standard? Dr. Barnes, as truly an Anglican bishop as the Primate, speaking of a recent Modernist book, said: "I cannot affirm that the book is orthodox, for I know of no criterion of orthodoxy by which I ought to test it," and even the Primate himself claimed that "the Holy Spirit is ever leading us to new [*i.e.*, different] interpretations of old truths." This is common form with Anglicans, faced with the chaos of Anglican theological opinion, but the attempt to throw the blame for such confusion on the Spirit of Truth Himself seems, surely, to savour of blasphemy.

The endeavour to have it both ways, to assert independence of judgment and to claim teaching authority for their Church, has inspired Anglican writers to form the most ingenious theories. The able leader-writers of the *Church Times* are prolific in them. In a recent issue, one of them, endeavouring to rebut Dr. Major's charge of Modernism, tries to indicate, incidentally, what he thinks really constitutes authoritative teaching in Anglicanism.

The Church of England teaches the concurrent authority of Holy Scripture, of reason, of tradition, of the present consensus of the Church.²

Accordingly, whoever wants to know what is of faith in the

¹ Letter to the *Church Times*, September 1, 1933.
² October 6th.

Establishment has his work cut out for him. He must consult the Bible, his own sense of what is right, the traditional doctrine, and finally the common declarations of the Church ! What Church ? Not the Anglican, for that, as we have seen, has not yet come to any doctrinal agreement.

For the single clear trumpet of the true teaching Church, the writer would substitute a discordant orchestra ! It is strange to what lengths of self-deception the attempt to justify an illogical position will lead even the learned and zealous. All this juggling with words and ideas springs from the desire to identify the Elizabethan Establishment in some substantial way with the Marian Catholic Church which preceded it. In spite of radical diversity in faith, worship and government, continuity must be somehow asserted, or else the true nature of Anglicanism—a man-made body without Orders, Mission or Authority—will be laid bare. It is on this account that the constant exposition of the events of that one fateful year, 1 Eliz., or A.D. 1559, is incumbent on all Catholic apologists, and may be an excuse for the above trite declaration of facts and principles.

It is a year from which Anglican apologists have just as constantly turned their eyes. A recent excellent article in the *Downside Review* (April, 1933), called "The Tractarian Blind Spot," showed up the amazing insensibility of Newman and his first followers to the real facts and effects of the Elizabethan Reformation, which anticipated, and indeed, exhibited in a far more flagrant form, the very same abuses that they were combating in their own day. The Liberalism which laughed at tradition, the Erastianism which wholly subordinated Church to State, were not the growth of the eighteenth century : they were inherent in Anglicanism from the start. Who ever tampered with sacred traditional dogma so freely as Cranmer and his fellow-heretics ? Who were ever so subservient to the civil power in spiritual things as the Elizabethan bishops ? The Tractarians took for granted, in their surprising ignorance of the facts, the continuity between the Marian and the Elizabethan Churches ; so, with equal contempt for historical truth, have Anglicans of every shade done ever since.

It is well known that they have been encouraged in that illusion by some few careless or ill-informed Catholic writers, mainly abroad, who have never been able to distinguish between the schism under Henry, and the apostasy under Eliza-

beth. Yet that distinction is vital in the Anglican discussion : there is a world of difference between a Church in schism, especially when lapse of time has made the schism generally inculpable, and an heretical body which was never a part of the Church Catholic. Although schism is very liable to lapse into heresy, still a schismatic Church possesses Orders and the One Sacrifice, and, for the sake of souls inculpably involved in it, the true Church supplies what jurisdiction is necessary therein for the due reception and administration of the Sacraments. One can speak of the "reunion" of a Church in schism with the true Church, for they were formerly united, *ex hypothesi* there is no difference of doctrine between them except in the matter of Catholic unity, and they possess a similar ecclesiastical status. Thus the Henrician schism was readily healed under Mary because, although, during the reigns of Henry and Edward, Cranmer and others had done their best to overthrow the Catholic faith, their heresies had made little way amongst clergy and people, and the country on the whole was still Catholic in faith and practice. But Elizabeth's "Device for the Alteration of Religion" was more successful. Not only was the complete severance from Rome, the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, re-effected, but the Catholic hierarchy was dispossessed by civil law in favour of an order of bishops invalidly consecrated, a new canon of belief replete with heresies was enforced, and a form of worship set up substantially different from the traditional Catholic use. These are undeniable facts, obvious to all who can read. Yet we have constantly had to deplore misinterpretations of them, set on foot by Continental writers of whom the late Abbé Portal and certain monks of Amay were the most conspicuous. We had hoped, indeed, that, after the failure of the mistaken Malines Conversations, and the subsequent publication of the Pope's Encyclical on "True Religious Unity" (1928), we should be spared any further ill-informed attempts to re-write English ecclesiastical history. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted that our esteemed contemporary, *Etudes*, should have published (September 20th) an article on the Oxford Movement Centenary by a writer whose incompetence has been exhibited already more than once, and who now shows that he has learned nothing from his previous mistakes. He takes, without question, the High Anglican view that the Establishment dates from the schism of Henry VIII,

and discusses it as if it were a Church in a canonical sense, capable, *positis ponendis*, of being united with Rome. He voices with sympathy the plea of the small pro-Roman section of Anglicanism who "know" that their Orders are valid, who have no intention of quitting the "Church of their Baptism," and who hope for "corporate reunion," yet would make terms with the Holy See. He represents the natural yearnings of the Popes for the return of all wanderers to the Fold, as if they envisaged such chimerical policies, and twists words spoken by Leo XIII, in 1895, respecting union with the schismatic East, as if they applied to the Establishment which is not a Church. That, indeed, has been the mistake of all these foreign writers, natural enough until they looked into the question but not so excusable afterwards, that they regarded this great national Church—with its imposing array of forty-three diocesan and twenty-nine suffragan bishops, with its far-flung affiliations wherever the English language is spoken, with its numerous and learned clerical dignitaries, Archdeacons, Deans and Canons, with its 20,000 beneficed and unbenediced clergy, distinct in function and garb from the laity, with its growing cluster of religious Congregations, with its missionary activities, with its magnificent cathedrals and stately worship, and, let us add, with its notable spiritual and philanthropic zeal—as in some real sense a canonical Church, capable of being dealt with by Rome on grounds of equality. But that is just what it is not, and no good can come from disguising or ignoring the fact. If there were any people who knew the real character of the Elizabethan Settlement, and how alien it was in form and substance from the old Church whose place it took, it was the Catholic bishops then extruded from their Sees, who endured penury and imprisonment till death rather than compromise the Faith by submission, or those many faithful confessors and martyrs who, during this and subsequent reigns, gave life and substance in its defence. This cloud of witnesses the *Etudes* writer, as do the Anglican authors on whom he relies, puts wholly out of court. His knowledge, indeed, of the course of events may be gauged by the sentence (p. 645)—"Depuis le schisme d'Henry VIII, l'Angleterre, assimilée aux pays de missions, était gouvernée par un vicaire apostolique"—a short-circuiting of history which would be laughable, if it had not been admitted into a learned and responsible periodical and thus become liable to mislead foreign opinion. With

the best of intentions, writers of this sort—there are some in Germany, too—are doing much to hinder the cause they have at heart—the conversion of Protestant England. The idea that the Establishment is really a Schismatic Church, forced originally into separation and held in present bondage by an irreligious State, with the chimerical hopes of a reunion *en masse* which that notion engenders, is founded in error, an error which has to be abandoned in the case of each individual who is converted. And if this mistaken view is expressly encouraged by Anglicans to prevent individual secessions, how can it be otherwise than an obstacle to the salvation of souls? And how grave is the responsibility of those Catholics who gloss over, or actually share, the mistake?

The resuscitation of these fallacious "corporate reunion" dreams, already condemned by Rome when, in 1864, it forbade Catholics to remain members of the "Association for the Promotion of the Union of Christendom," on the precise grounds that it involved heretical views about Church Unity,¹ has obviously been inspired by the Manifesto against "Anglo-Catholic" Modernism published a year ago by some fifty clerical signatories, the significance of which this periodical has already discussed.² The signatories have followed up their protest by the publication of a series of historical tracts, designed to show that the Catholic Church in England, with which they wrongly consider Anglicanism to be in substantial continuity, was "Roman" from the first, and would have remained so visibly and always if she were allowed her way. These papers are meant for Anglicans and, up to a point, they say very well what Catholics have been saying all along. But at the end of No. V, "What does the XVI Century say?", the author, the Rev. Spencer Jones, in the two pages he devotes to Elizabeth, tells us absolutely nothing about the deposed bishops and the recusant clergy and people who remained true Catholics in communion with the Holy See, whilst heretics without Orders or mission took their place as the Church of the land. No amount of subsequent realization of the need of spiritual jurisdiction and of the importance of communion in doctrine and worship with

¹ Those who, like the late M. Thureau-Dangin, try to make out a difference in policy and view between Cardinals Wiseman and Vaughan in this matter, forget that Wiseman's attitude completely changed when he realized all the implications of the A.P.U.C. and that the Roman condemnation was founded on his own strongly adverse report. See Ward's "Life," Vol. II, p. 479.

² THE MONTH, December, 1932, p. 553; April, 1933, p. 357.

the Church of the Ages, such as is illustrated in the subsequent tractates, can bridge over that fatal gulf. Anglicanism would have to be *made* a Church and provided with valid Orders and the authoritative Catholic *corpus* of belief, before the question of union with Rome could even be contemplated. It does not matter what individual divines, centuries after the event, have maintained. The Catholic priests and bishops in Elizabeth's time knew too well that the religious system which supplanted them was new and was false. It is no less false still, though several hundred years older.

In any case, the pro-Roman section of Anglicanism, asserting with such courage and zeal an impossible position, is but the extreme fringe of a section which itself is in a minority in the Establishment, which again embraces now hardly a moiety of the English population. The signatories are said to have multiplied their adherents by six since the Manifesto was published—still, they form a tiny percentage of the whole clerical body. The last tractate to date—"What are *we* to say?", by the Revs. W. Fynes-Clinton and R. Corbould, is an amazing mixture of shrewd criticism of existing Anglicanism with the most unwarrantable interpretations of its historical past. The authors challenge a valid answer to their contention that the old Catholic Church in England was forced into schism by the State. The answer, of course, is—True, regarding what happened under Henry, but false regarding Elizabeth's action. She all but destroyed the Catholic Church in England, and so as to render its return impossible, set up another and a different one literally in its place. They seem unable to grasp the idea that Elizabeth so far succeeded: the old Church lived on as a persecuted remnant, until its recovery of normal canonical status in a happier day. It has never fallen into schism or heresy: it has never lost its vital connexion with Rome. If these zealous men doubt this, let them write the two all important tractates they have somehow omitted from their series—"What did the Elizabethan Bishops say?", and "What did the English Martyrs say?" Detailed and candid answers to these two queries would show them how flimsy is the foundation on which they base their whole case, and which forces them to declare Anglicanism to be "a schism *within* the Church, not *from* the Church"—surely a distinction hitherto undreamt of by theologians!

It is strange that a misreading of history should keep men, who have realized the whole contents of the Catholic Faith, even to the *de jure* Supremacy of the Pope, and who feel ac-

ception of it to be a duty, lingering in an heretical communion. Why should loyalty to that communion transcend the higher loyalty which they owe to God's Truth? And, as we asked them before—why, having expressly acknowledged that the Church has *for ever*, as its Centre and Guide on earth, the successor of St. Peter, do they act as if the Papacy were in their regard out of commission?

JOSEPH KEATING.

Royal Obsequies

She passes to her couch with thrice
The pomp of coming to her throne.

William Watson (ON AUTUMN).

AUTUMN has spread
Her parti-coloured coverlets—copper-red,
And fading green, and bronze and yellow gold—
O'er summer's dying bed:
Unrolled
Her gaudy garlands like a flaming thread,
And hung her burning blazons on the wold,
To decorate
The passage of so glorious a state.

Above the level meads
The slow-winged rooks and wheeling pigeons pass
Against a pearly sky,
Windless and still;
The running ribbon of the chattering rill
Flashes its silver through the shaking reeds:
Amid the thinning hedgerows lingering die
The last pale blossoms in the welking grass.

Crimson and brown,
Purple and tawny orange, amber pale,
Paint her brief banners, that the gathering gale
With rude destroying hand
Shall soon pluck down
To scatter o'er the desolated land:
Lovely decay,
Eating itself away,
As Nature's brilliant conflagration burns
Above sepulchral urns.

L. QUARLES.

BY RAIL TO ROME

"What could be more conducive towards uniting men and nations than the assembling of a vast number of pilgrims in Rome—the second native-land of Catholic peoples—where they meet their common Father, together profess their common faith, together receive the Most Holy Eucharist—the principle of union—and thus acquire that spirit of charity which is the chief mark of Christians? The holy monuments of Rome itself teach us this, and drive home the lesson." (*Pope Pius XI*).

I. THE REMOTE PREPARATION.

"THE carriage crested the hill. The driver rose from his box-seat and pointed with his whip towards the south. A blurr of white hung like smoke before the deep green of the background. 'Ecco, Roma,' he said simply. There was a tense silence. We realized that the end of our pilgrimage was in sight."

A traveller a hundred years ago usually put down words such as these in his diary. It is certain that in former days, before the introduction of railways, it was possible and far easier to arrive in Rome with a mind attuned to the *spirit* of pilgrimage. The horse vehicle gave the pilgrim ample leisure for quiet reflection and prayer: the traveller on the road—and we have a notable example in Mr. Belloc's book—can raise his mind to the things of God easily and spontaneously. This, of course, presupposes that no brigands or wandering armies infest the countryside: a presupposition not to be made too easily even in the Italy of a hundred years ago. A young ecclesiastical student at that time on the way to Rome, as he described later, encountered more than once the limp body of a *campagna* brigand hanging from a wayside tree. The student's name was Wiseman. And if then, *a fortiori* earlier; St. John Berchmans, for instance; there were wars and brigands in 1618, when he went to Rome, but all we know of his journey concerns a visit to Loreto.

This gives us a hint for the following observations. It is certain that we must strive to arrive in Rome with a mind prepared for Rome. For Rome (it has been said again and again) is unique. From that cluster of roofs and pinnacles, towers and domes, changing their shapes and sizes from age to age, but never wholly obliterating the past, men have gone

forth to conquer the world, first for the Roman Eagle, and later for the Cross of Christ. Here is the true cradle of the world's history : the city whose story winds back to dim and distant Etruscan days; the city of Julius Caesar and Trajan, Virgil and Horace; of the Christian martyrs who have enabled her to write famous names across the pages of history : from Leo I to our Leo XIII, from the Innocent who deposed an English king in the thirteenth century to the Innocent who counselled moderation to the last of the Stuarts in the seventeenth ; the city of Peter and Paul and Philip the Father of the Oratorians ; of Ignatius of Antioch and Ignatius of Loyola ; of a Pius who struggled against Gnostic heresies and the Pius who thundered against the vain Queen of the English called Elizabeth ; of Clement who wrote with such clarity and authority to the turbulent Church of Corinth in the lifetime of John the Evangelist and of the Clement who, at long last, refused to truckle to Henry VIII. The city, too, let it be said, of the puppet Popes of the tenth century, and of wild medieval republicanism ; of the great capitalist families, the Barbarinis and the Colonnas, who ruled poverty-stricken rabbles, wasted in plague and civil strife, yet served with such devoted care and love by the saints whom Rome has nurtured : Francesca, Aloysius, Padre Filippo of the Oratory, and Paul "of the Cross." Rome, plundered by an Empire called Holy and Roman and by an Empire ruled from Paris and robbed of her true sovereign by a bandit army of Italians, has, nevertheless, never ceased to send out to the ends of the earth armies of Christian missionaries. They have been martyred by Red Indians in Canada, by Zulus in Africa, by Englishmen in England and by Turks in Armenia. Politicians have closed her schools, but never silenced the teaching of the catechism ; they have driven the Holy Sacrifice from her altars—but into the barns and garrets of the countryside. Soldiers have shot her priests, but nuns have continued to pray. The Kingdom of Christ has slowly and surely permeated the world.

If we would seek to probe into her mystery and seek an explanation of her conquest, we must span the centuries and by some such juxtaposition of names of men and people and places, draw, even if only in outline, a hazy sketch on a vast canvas and standing aside exclaim with wonder : the strength of it, the faith of it, the paradox of it ! *Ecclesia per se ipsam ob suam nempe admirabilem propagationem . . . invictamque*

stabilitatem magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis, affirms the Vatican Council. The Living Church is her own witness. Why does the Church triumph and why is she indestructible? Heresy is still rampant. Pagans remain unconverted. She has emerged from the shadows of the catacombs, yet moves uneasily in the shackles of concordats. Why does she triumph? Because Jesus is with her and guides her destinies through His perpetual Vicar the Bishop of Rome.

These, then, are far-flung and stirring memories. The understanding of them, in a greater or lesser degree, must be our remote preparation for a fitting arrival at the Capital of the World. Such a meditation, as we have remarked, was possible and easier in the days of leisurely travel. We ourselves have re-entered Rome on foot and tried to reconstruct the emotions of our forefathers: under a deep blue sky, along a road lined with vine branches, to the sound of "Ave Maria" tolling from a little church grey on a distant hillock. Lamps shone softly at the doors of closely-clustered houses. The blue deepened suddenly into dark. Men drank wine under the stars. A village riding astride on a rising ridge twinkled merry lights. There was a hum of happy humanity along the roads. But there was also the jolting and jarring of trams, a cinema advertising an American "star," and a radio announcing football results, ere Rome, the real Rome, was eventually reached.

No—it is a difficult business to manage well, this arrival in Rome.

II. THE IMMEDIATE PREPARATION.

A great lover of Rome, Louis Veuillot, has written: "Le chemin de fer est l'expression insolente du mépris de la personne. Rien ne figure mieux la démocratie. Je ne suis plus un homme, je suis un objet; je ne voyage pas, je suis expédié." Under modern conditions of travel we are treated not like persons, but like parcels—labelled, docketed, stamped with the sigillum of Mr. Cook. We, too, can remember that kind of arrival. The gentleman opposite read the *Saturday Evening Post*, and the sun was setting over the last glimpses of Assisi: a party of Italians played English music-hall songs on a wheezy gramophone: no dome of St. Peter's hove suddenly in sight, but a smoky glass-house, Rome's one and only station. And then the obsequious official ready to pamper all and sundry, the *facchinos* quarrel-

ling over tips, the boy selling chocolates—or was it bananas and figs? A whirl through garish streets: not the tolling of "Ave Maria," but the tooting of cars; not the vision of distant Apennines with tints and shadows, soft and harmonious, but the vulgarity of poster and hoarding. Let us beware of those first shallow impressions, and even if we must travel to Rome by rail and shepherded by a Travel Association—yet we must strive by all the means in our power to break from the thraldom of modern travel. We are not parcels, but persons, Catholic persons. We belong to a unique Kingdom: a Kingdom *in* this world, but not of this world; present now, its consummation is yet to come; internal in the souls of men, yet manifested in an external form. A Kingdom described by her Founder in terms of an all-pervading and transforming influence, yet concrete enough to possess a Capital. And we are intent on visiting that Capital with England as our point of departure. What must we do? We have made our remote preparation: we have meditated on Rome in the full and deep meaning of the word. We have realized afresh that Rome is, in a sense, everywhere: a parish church is an outpost of Empire, a parish priest, an active soldier. On the direct line to Rome there are places that in a special way remind us of Rome, of her history, of her message and meaning to the world. Let us follow up our meditation by practical action in this way.

We brave a few more hours of sea-travel and kneel to pray at the shrine of the little Carmelite saint of Lisieux. She has been interesting herself lately in a special way in the spiritual welfare of English-folk. She, concerned so intimately with world-wide mission fields, must needs look to England with a special interest! In Paris we set ourselves rigidly against all else save Montmartre, the symbol and centre of France's mighty fight against the modern pagans. There the young men arm themselves with prayer before the Blessed Sacrament during the long night hours. (A grey dawn was breaking over Paris when I arrived in good time to say Mass. "Je suis un Jesuit Anglais. Je voudrais célébrer la Sainte Messe —pour la France." The sacristan beamed and forgot to demand the *celebret*. I gave Holy Communion to half a dozen market women. This is a mighty companionship, this companionship in a common Faith.)

Would that we could include Fulda and St. Boniface on the road to Rome! It means a long circuit and a journey down the Rhine. Surely it is a supreme impertinence and

suggests an appalling insularity to assert (as has lately been done in a series of essays) that there is a Catholicism among the peoples of Central Europe other than the Catholicism which owes love and obedience to Rome. Visit the modern churches at Frankfurt and realize what a power of adaptability to northern temperament the Church of God possesses. The people who write the books on the Church of the future have no notion that the state of things they imagine has an actual existence in the present. Their ideal Church is very like the Catholic Church, though it falls below the reality.

But this is a long parenthesis and we must move towards the south. At the Gare de Lyons there is a bustling and a whistling and a clattering: the train heaves out. We feel slightly nervous on these French railways: the engine-driver is sometimes out to break records and succeeds in breaking limbs. But the *Itinerarium* reminds us that the God of Israel who led our forefathers across the Red Sea to their own land, and the three Kings across the desert to the manger, is also watching over our journey. We are returning to Rome, the second native land of Catholic peoples. *Nevers*. There Bernadette of Lourdes lies asleep. No corruption has touched her body. She will be one of the Saints of the Holy Year. She it was to whom the Mother of men spoke and asked for the revival of ordinary Christian practices from her children: to pray for sinners, to bid the people pray for them and to do penance. *Paray-le-Monial*. Here, too, Heaven communicated with earth and gently pleaded for the return of love for love so generously given. "Do not fear. I will reign in spite of my enemies." We need that message graven on the tomb of St. Margaret Mary to strengthen our hope for the world. There, too, is Father Colombière. May he send fervent apostles to England in the hour of her spiritual hunger: may this Holy Year mean much to her.

Ars. There we can speak to the Curé as nowhere else in the world. His rooms have been allowed to remain just as he knew them. No gilded roofs, plaster statues, gesticulating angels are there to irritate and distract. We can see the chalice of his daily Mass, the saucepan in which he cooked the two daily potatoes, the chimney down which the devil made foolish noises, the little pulpit and confessional which drew all France to *Ars*, and his hat—what an enormous hat it is!—which may serve to remind us that a saint in the flesh and in the making has not yet donned a halo.

Lyons! No doubt, to the eye untrained by the Faith and to the mind untutored by Church history, it is merely an industrial town. But, in fact, Lyons is the centre from which Christianity was propagated throughout France. It gave an army of martyrs to the Church, St. Irenaeus, and the sanctuary of Our Lady of Fourvières.

We cross the Italian frontier. At Bologna, arcaded university city, we make our way to the tomb of St. Dominic. Some day the modern universities of Europe may imbibe deeply the wisdom of the *Summa*! From Florence we can reach Rome either by way of Sienna or Assisi. It is a tantalizing choice. Perhaps we can visit St. Catherine's home on the way down and St. Francis's on the way back. Near Assisi, we pass the western bank of the lake of Trasimeno where so much Roman valour lies asleep. We reflect on the connexion between the Roman Eagle and the Cross of Christ: careful to remember that the monks of St. Benedict baptized, indeed, the culture and kept the language of ancient Rome, yet outstripped the legions in their peaceful penetration of Europe.

Our remote and proximate preparations for our Roman pilgrimage have now been well made. We have visited holy shrines, outposts of Empire, miniature Romes radiating her spiritual teaching and her spiritual atmosphere. We have remembered that we are Catholic persons, and not parcels!

Next morning, ere the noise of modern machinery has drowned the sound of the falling fountains and the flutter of the pigeons' wings, we make our way to the tomb of St. Peter. The sun is splashing splendid pools of light on the floor of the great Basilica. We feel ourselves just a little less unworthy to be there, for we have come, insignificant members, yet members of a mighty and glorious Company. We have travelled through a Roman Europe, in a few days and almost in a direct line from England. And we owe that, after all is said and done, to the maligned railway line.

III. THE PRACTICAL CONCLUSION.

We live in days, therefore, when travel is easy. The railway stretches out its tentacles here, there and everywhere. It is for us to make some profitable use of it: not, of course, necessarily, on an ideal pilgrimage such as we have described, but certainly in a restricted, but not the less profitable way. It is a splendid and hopeful sign that Englishmen go more and more to the Continent in an *educational* way. Non-Catholic troops of Boy Scouts not infrequently pitch their

camps in Belgium and France. Lord Baden-Powell's article in *The Times* (September 4, 1933), entitled "Boys will be Friends," is inspiring reading. In August, 25,000 boys from forty nations were gathered together at Gödöllö, in Hungary. The Scouts' Jamboree was scarcely over when there started from England a ship carrying over 500 officers of the Girl Guides, and 100 of the Boy Scout Movement, to visit their comrades in eight countries of the Baltic. These are, indeed, "natural" pilgrimages of the best kind. Rome itself provides Summer Schools for school teachers. Haileybury College once toured a Shakespeare play on the Continent. The Anglicans study "movements" abroad very intelligently indeed.

All this is for ultimate good—it is for us to draw the practical conclusion.

Briefly : we cannot afford to be insular. The true pilgrimage spirit must grow in strength and intensity amongst us. *Especially among our older boys and young men.* Members of the "devout sex" far outnumber the males in the various parties that travel on the Continent under the auspices of Travel Associations. The schools have wakened up. Preston Catholic College sent a contingent to Rome in the early days of August : Belvedere College boys were there last year, Stonyhurst means to go next : there are others too numerous to mention : a troop of Glasgow Boy Scouts went out for the Beatification of Father Ogilvie four years ago. Even the less favoured with worldly possessions seem to manage these things.

We have seen groups of German, Irish and French boys before the tomb of St. Aloysius. Will the day come when English boys, as a regular thing, visit Rome as a fitting conclusion to their Catholic studies, and to obtain the blessing of the Father of All for their work for Christ's Cause, which is now so obviously the cause of our European civilization ?

I would ask the prayers of all during this Holy Year—and especially at the holy shrines in Rome—that this vision may become a reality, and that British Catholic boys will be taught to know and love Rome—the Rome of the past, the Rome of the present—"the second native land of Catholic peoples, where they meet their common Father." A knowledge and love of Rome helps them to acquire an international sense, a spirit of universal charity, and a mind that thinks in harmony with God's Church.

GEORGE S. BURNS.

SOME PHYSICAL PHENOMENA OF MYSTICISM¹ THE MULTIPLICATION OF FOOD

ON June 4th of the present year, which was Whit-Sunday, a devoted secular priest of Poitou, who died a century ago, by name Andrew Hubert Fournet, was canonized in St. Peter's with all the usual solemnities. Although he was the founder of a widely-spread religious congregation, "les Filles de la Croix,"² his life is probably little known to the majority of Catholics in this country. I happened to be in Rome at the time of the canonization and I was greatly impressed by the vast crowds, mainly of French pilgrims, who came to attend the ceremony, as well as by the multitudes who thronged the piazza to witness the illumination of the basilica in the evening. St. Andrew Fournet, who lived to the age of 82, had had charge of a parish at the outbreak of the French Revolution. He had been forced to take refuge for a time in Spain, but returned to his flock at the risk of his life, celebrating Mass by stealth in a barn and setting a marvellous example of holiness and zeal. There was no note of extravagance in his piety. Simplicity, straightforwardness and an all-embracing charity were the key-notes of his character; but, as so often happens, God seems to have rewarded his singleness of heart by extraordinary marks of favour. This is not the place to speak of his efforts to revive the faith of the people after the Revolution, of his miracles of healing, or of the fervour which, on certain occasions, when he was preaching or saying Mass, raised him bodily from the ground before the eyes of all; but he is credited also with another form of prodigy not infrequently met with in the lives of those generous givers who divest themselves of all things in order to supply the temporal or spiritual needs of the forsaken and the destitute. Having before me a copy of the official summary of the evidence presented to the Congregation of Sacred Rites in the Cause

¹ See for previous articles, *THE MONTH*, April to December, 1919; January and March, 1920; February to May, 1921; June to August, 1923.

² The educational institute here spoken of is officially designated "les Filles de la Croix, dites de S. André." They are quite distinct from "the Daughters of the Cross" founded by the Venerable Marie Thérèse Haze of Liège, as also from the nuns commonly known as "the Sisters of St. Andrew."

of St. Andrew's beatification, I cannot, perhaps, better introduce this phenomenon of the multiplication of food than by translating part of the depositions of one or two of the witnesses who gave testimony in the process. They were nuns of that Congregation of the Filles de la Croix, which the Saint, in conjunction with their heroic mother, the Venerable Elizabeth Bichier, had founded in dire poverty to instruct the spiritually neglected peasantry of Western France. Let me take first the sworn statement of Sister Bartholomew who, for the first thirteen years of her religious life, had St. Andrew for her confessor and lived continually under his eye at La Puye.

She begins this part of her evidence by saying : "The servant of God, so far as I know, never had ecstasies. He did not like us to talk of such things as visions, and he kept watch, with a certain mistrust, over Sisters who showed any tendency to have revelations or raptures." Then, after touching on other matters, she goes on :

While I was still at La Puye, there was committed to my charge the care of the granary and of the laundry. It was, so far as I remember, in 1824, but I cannot be quite certain of the year. Just before the feast of St. John the Baptist we were looking forward to the annual retreat, which is made by all the Sisters in common, when our good Mother Elizabeth [this was the venerable foundress, Elizabeth Bichier] told Father Andrew that it was impossible for that year to assemble all the Sisters who were scattered throughout the different parishes of the diocese and in other parts of France, because we had not corn enough in the house and there was no money to buy more. The Father answered : "My child, where is your faith? Do you think God's arm is shortened, and that He cannot do here what He did of old when, as we read in the Gospels, He multiplied the loaves? Go and write to the Sisters to come to the retreat." Afterwards, the Servant of God climbed up to the granary where I was occupied at the moment with one of the other Sisters. As usual he brought his manservant with him, for it was his custom never to come among the Sisters without a companion. He walked around the two little heaps of grain, one of which consisted of wheat and the other of barley. I do not re-

member whether he blessed the heaps, nor can I say exactly, not having measured them, how many bushels (*moggi*)¹ they each might have contained, but the heaps were very small. The Servant of God then told our good Mother a second time to get the Sisters to come for the retreat without delay. Accordingly, they arrived in due course and, when added to those in the mother house and to a score of orphans, they brought up the number that had to be fed to about 200. I went every day to the granary to take the corn that was needed and during two months and a half, in other words, from the beginning of July to the middle of September, I drew my supplies from those two little heaps without their showing any sign of diminution. I cannot say for certain how long the Sisters from the parishes remained at the mother house. As I mentioned before, I had not measured the two heaps. They contained, perhaps, more than twenty bushels, but certainly not as much as forty, and this was the quantity which, for two hundred people, would at the very most, have lasted a week. In the middle of September I quitted La Puye to go to Angles, leaving the two heaps of grain in just the same condition in which they were when the Servant of God came to the granary. I heard it said that the same two heaps continued to serve the needs of the Community until Christmas, but I cannot depose to this as a witness, for, as I have already stated, I left in the middle of September.²

This statement, made, of course, on oath, seems good and straightforward evidence. It is only unfortunate that Sister Bartholomew, then 73 years old, was speaking of events which had happened some thirty-four years earlier. But let us turn to another witness, Sister Mamertus (*née* Marie Henriette Giraud), aged 68 who, after confirming, along with several others, the universal conviction among the nuns of the truth of the story just recounted, goes on to describe a personal experience of her own which occurred a year or two later. Sister Bartholomew had been succeeded in her office of looking after the granary by a Sister Mary Magdalen, who

¹ For the use of the Consultors of the Congregation of Rites, the evidence, no doubt given in French, was printed in Italian. It is, therefore, difficult to say what precise measure of capacity a *moggio* corresponded to.

² "Summarium super dubio an sit signanda Commissio Introductionis Causeæ Servi Dei Andreæ Huberti Fournet," Rome, 1877, pp. 376-377.

was no longer living when these depositions were taken, and Sister Mamertus narrates :

Sister Mary Magdalen came to me one morning and said : "I don't know what to do. There are not more than eight or ten bushels of corn left in the granary at the very most." Our good Mother Elizabeth [the foundress] happened to be away from home at the time ; she was, I think, in Paris. Sister Mary Magdalen, accordingly, went off to the Father and told him that the Community would soon be without bread. He replied : "My dear child, how little faith you have ! God's Providence watches over our needs. Send the corn you have to be ground." Shortly afterwards I noticed that the Servant of God was making his way to the granary, and my curiosity having been aroused by what Sister Mary Magdalen had told me, I followed him. He went into the granary and closed the door behind him, but I was able to watch him through the keyhole. He knelt down beside the little heap that was there, and began to pray very fervently. I don't know that he did anything else, because in my fear that he himself might catch me spying and might reprimand me for my curiosity, I withdrew almost at once. But in due course, after the Father had left, Sister Mary Magdalen came along with the men from the mill, and I heard from her on that same day that she measured the corn and found that there were sixty bushels.¹

There was much other testimony given to the same effect, but it is of a less satisfactory kind, and consists mainly of statements of what the nuns or the neighbouring clergy and laity had heard from the lips of those who had been in intimate relation with St. Andrew during his lifetime. Let me add that there seems to be no lack of instances of a similar multiplication of food, etc., in such comparatively modern conditions as those which prevailed in the last century. For example, the Blessed Gaspar del Bufalo and his early companions had a hard struggle with poverty in founding the Congregation of the Precious Blood which, from 1815 onwards, did so much to revive religious fervour in the more neglected parishes of rural Italy. Father Blaise Valentini, who was later on Superior General, giving evidence in the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 384.

process of Beatification, records how, when he himself was in charge of the Mother House of San Felice at Giano during Don Gaspar's absence, he wrote to the founder that it was impossible to pay his way. There were, he declared, no other resources but the stones with which the place abounded. He received in reply only the message: "Bless the stones and they will turn into piastres." Though he took this answer for a jest, it happened shortly afterwards that he was pressed for the immediate payment of a debt. He called the young man who acted as bursar and they looked in the money-box together. There they found fifty "bajocchi"—let us say pence—and no more. This sum was hopelessly insufficient for their purpose, so Father Valentini, at his wit's end, be-thought him of the message he had received, and in a spirit of faith pronounced a blessing over the coppers before him. Then they proceeded to count the money once more, and behold they found there five piastres (dollars) and five "paoli" (francs) the exact sum that was needed.¹ The piastres were coins from the mint of Pius VII, and Father Valentini, in his sworn deposition, insists forcibly upon the impossibility of any oversight or trickery which could explain the mystery.

However much we may be disposed to suspect these witnesses of malobservation or of a too ready credulity, the number of such stories, many of them resting on direct and first-hand evidence, is surprisingly great. A good example, which again, in this case, was attested on oath in the Beatification process, will be found recorded in most of the Lives of Blessed Don Bosco. I translate for brevity's sake the account given by Father Lemoyne. The incident occurred in 1860 in one of the Salesian houses, that of Turin, where a large number of young students were in training.

There was no bread in the house and the baker had refused to supply any more until his bill, which had run up to 10,000 lire, had been settled. They informed Don Bosco, who was then in the confessional, that there was nothing for breakfast, he sent word that they were to collect what little bread could be found and that he would himself come and distribute it. A young man, Francis Dalmazzo, who overheard this discussion [he had been making his confession at the time] was the attentive witness of what then happened. "I found a place," he

¹ "Summarium super dubio an sit signanda Commissio Introductionis Causæ S.D. Gasparis del Bufalo," Rome, 1851, p. 308.

said, "where I could overlook the scene, just behind Don Bosco, who was preparing to distribute the rolls (*pagnotelle*) to the 300 lads as they came up. I fixed my eyes upon the basket at once, and I saw that it contained fifteen or twenty rolls at the most. Meanwhile, Don Bosco carried out the distribution, and to my great surprise, I saw the same quantity remain which had been there from the first, though no other rolls had been brought and the basket had not been changed." The impression made by this prodigy was so great that the young man in question who had made up his mind to return home that very morning because he found the life too severe, stayed where he was and became a Salesian.¹

Still more remarkable were two cases of the multiplication of foodstuffs which were accepted as miracles for the beatification of Ste. Germaine Cousin. Though Ste. Germaine had died in 1601, she was not beatified until 1854, and it was while her cause, held up by circumstances of no interest in the present connexion, was again being pushed forward, that the marvels referred to took place at the Good Shepherd Convent of Bourges, in 1845, and the following years. In an article like the present it is, unfortunately, difficult to give those full details which are necessary if the reader is to appreciate the strength of the evidence. I must content myself here with a summary statement, such, for example, as that which may be found in the recent English Life of the Blessed Mother Pelletier. We are told that in the Bourges convent during the exceptionally severe winter of 1845, the flour in the granary was running short.

There were 116 persons to feed; starvation stared them in the face. The Superior bethought herself of the Venerable Germaine Cousin. . . Novenas were made in her honour. . . Daily a portion of her Life was read, and medals in her honour were distributed, one being hung in the bake-house. The Sisters in charge of the bakery were in the habit of kneading twelve bushels of flour every five days, which made twenty large loaves. The Superior told them henceforth only to use eight bushels and Venerable Germaine was begged to make good the rest. They did not obtain the desired result, the bread only

¹ G. B. Lemoine, "Vita del B. Giovanni Bosco," Vol. II, pp. 459-460; and cf. Auffray, "Life of Blessed John Bosco" (Eng. Trans.), p. 215.

lasted three days. Nor were the second and third attempts more successful. Without losing faith, the Superior prayed to the little Saint "Make the quantity of flour suffice for twenty loaves. . ." The miracle took place. The first batch, though made from only eight bushels, produced twenty large loaves weighing from twenty to twenty-two pounds each. The second batch was even more marvellous; in kneading the dough it swelled to such an extent that it overflowed the trough in a few moments. The Sisters filled the oven with this, and then calculated they still had twenty pounds of paste left, without counting the yeast, and yet only four bushels of flour had been used. Five days later the same multiplication took place with two batches. This was but the commencement of a series of favours received through Venerable Germaine. In the convent granary was a supply of flour which at most would last, with care, for two months. After a few weeks the Sisters remarked that although the quantity had lessened, the diminution was quite out of proportion to the amount used. "Wishing," as they said, "to surprise the little Saint red-handed in a miracle," at the beginning of February they began to measure the flour. Again at the end of a fortnight they did the same. The flour weighed exactly what it had done a fortnight before, in spite of two bakings, so without knowing it the Community had been drawing direct from the granaries of Divine Providence. From November, 1845, until February, 1846, Ste. Germaine had practised every form of multiplication both of bread and flour.¹

But the fact is that prodigies of this type are of frequent occurrence in our hagiographical records. For some, of course, the evidence is very inadequate, but others are well attested. Prosper Lambertini (Pope Benedict XIV) in his great treatise on the Beatification and Canonization of Saints, devotes a chapter to the subject, and fully recognizes the supernatural character of these multiplications where proper precautions are taken against errors of malobservation, etc.

¹ "Blessed Mary of St. Euphrasia Pelletier," by a Religious of the Congregation. Pp. 252-254. Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1933. A full statement of the evidence as presented to the Congregation of Sacred Rites, will be found in Veullot, "Ste. Germaine Cousin," 1904, pp. 177-185. I am not quite sure whether the use of the word "bushels" of flour is warranted by the original depositions.

He himself cites a number of cases in which such incidents are expressly described as miraculous in the bulls of canonization of well-known saints. He mentions in particular St. Clare of Assisi, St. Richard of Chichester, St. Teresa of Avila, St. Frances of Rome, St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, St. Pius V, etc., and refers to other cases connected with the names of St. Thomas of Villanova, St. Lewis Bertrand, St. Rose of Lima, St. Aloysius Gonzaga, St. Francis Xavier, St. Cunegund, St. Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal, and several more.¹

Neither can it be said that marvellous phenomena of this kind are restricted to those whose claim to holiness has been ratified by the official sanction of the Church. There are certain mystics who seem, if I may so speak, to specialize in this type of manifestation, and who light-heartedly have not hesitated to put their wonderful powers to the test upon very slight occasion. Perhaps the most remarkable instance I have come across is that of the Carmelite, Father Angiolo Paoli, who was born of a humble family in Tuscany in 1642, and died at Rome in 1720. It is true that the cause of his beatification was introduced, that the depositions of witnesses were duly taken upon oath, and a full Life published in 1756 which is based upon "the Ordinary and Apostolic processes, already approved by the Holy See." Father Angiolo is, therefore, correctly described therein as "the Venerable Servant of God," but though he died more than 200 years ago, no decree of Beatification seems ever to have been issued, and the cause has apparently been dropped. But the long chapter which deals with "his gift of multiplying food and drink in the service of the poor and the sick," confirmed, as it seems to be, in each recorded example, by a reference to the evidence given in the processes, tells us some very curious things. Among Angiolo's friends was a certain Father Castelli, then General of the Servites, and on one occasion, after paying him a visit, the good Carmelite remarked as he took his leave :

"Father General, what will you give me for my poor?" The other answered that he had nothing he could give him. "No," said Father Angiolo, "I only want a few biscuits and sweets for my poor sick people." "You should have them very willingly," said the other, "if I had any, but I have none." To which Father Angiolo rejoined, "Well, I will try this cupboard; I

¹ Book IV, part 1, chap. 23.

know I shall find something." Thereupon opening a cupboard in the wall where Father General's Socius used to put napkins and other table utensils, he discovered some scraps of bread (*toszi di pane*) which all together did not amount to the volume of a small loaf (*pagnotta*) and a half, or two at the utmost, and these he stowed away in his left sleeve. Then the General, and Father Master Maggini who was also present, remarked smilingly: "You haven't got much loot after all, Father Angiolo." When they had talked awhile, he set off home, and the General and Father Maggini decided to accompany him. The three had got as far as the Torre de' Conti, when Father Angiolo began giving alms to various persons of both sexes, big and little, who begged from him, distributing the scraps of bread which he had taken from the General's room, but without breaking them up in any way. He continued to do this all the way to S. Pietro in Vincoli; at which Father Maggini was so astounded that he turned to him and said: "Good gracious! Have you a basketful of bread in your sleeve? You have been giving alms to all the beggars in the city with the bread you got from Father General." Father Angiolo made no answer, but the General, who had watched everything that happened, made a sign to his companion to hold his tongue.

The account goes on to describe how Father Angiolo, during a long walk, gave to everyone who begged of him, and adds that "with these few scraps of bread, hardly enough to give seven or eight people, he satisfied from fifty to sixty poor beggars who all went away contented with the alms they had received." As Father Maggini commented, "he had nothing but the scraps he had taken from the General, and we, who kept our eyes upon him the whole time, knew that he never stopped in the street to receive a fresh supply from anyone whatever."¹

All this was clearly a work of genuine charity to the poor in which it is easy to believe that God may have co-operated with His servant even by working a surprising miracle. What is less intelligible is the confidence shown by Father Angiolo that he would at any time be seconded in his efforts to provide an agreeable little picnic for the well-to-do friends

¹ P. T. Cacciari, "Della Vita, Virtù e Doni Sopranaturali del Ven. Angiolo Paoli" (Rome, 1756), pp. 62-64.

who helped him in some of his good works. On a particularly hot day in June, the Father seems to have taken a group of them to a sort of garden party where he provided lettuces and radishes to make a salad, with a tart, as well as a basket of strawberries for dessert, all which, in that season of drought, were practically un procurable. These things, wherever he obtained them, sufficed, without being exhausted, to afford refreshment for a dozen people, while a single decanter of wine was freely partaken of by all and yet remained half-full. On another similar occasion, a single flask of wine (*un fiasco di vino della misura di un bocale*) was provided for twenty-five people who drank tumblers-full, some one, some two, some of them only a half, but at the end the flask had still been only half emptied, and a Signor Bellotti, whose statement is quoted from the process of beatification, deposed that "three *bocali* [? decanters] of wine at the very least would not have sufficed to provide a drink for them all, and yet with only half a *bocale* the whole party quenched their thirst and were satisfied."¹

Still more surprising are some of the innumerable incidents of the same kind which Father Cacciari has recounted, so surprising, in fact, that one asks oneself whether the whole Life is not an audacious fiction. This, however, is impossible. It is a substantial volume printed in Rome in the pontificate of Benedict XIV, dedicated to the Cardinal Archbishop of Ferrara, and furnished with the necessary imprimatur, as well as with a number of highly laudatory approbations. Many people are cited as witnesses who must have been well known in ecclesiastical circles, and there is a series of references to the "Sommario" of the Beatification Process, a printed volume which I know to exist, though, unfortunately, I have not had access to a copy. Over and over again we have accounts of the division of some delicacy into portions which it was easy to count, and then of its subsequent distribution to three or four times the number of hospital patients, each receiving one of these portions entire. But perhaps the most curious feature of all is the assured conviction Father Angiolo seems to have possessed that, if he wished to give to the poor, or only to refresh his thirsty friends with a cup of wine or a handful of fruit, supernatural means would always be forthcoming—and, in fact, according to the testimony of many respectable eye-witnesses,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

always were forthcoming—to enable him to gratify his desire, no matter how great the number of recipients.¹

Even in more modern times we occasionally find mention of miraculous multiplications which could not be attributed to any real necessity. In the Process of Blessed Joseph Cottolengo there is a story told of an incident witnessed by a Canon Vogliotti and another priest. Someone had brought Cottolengo a little basket of cherries which he distributed, handful by handful, to the whole crowd of his students. They sufficed for all, but the amount thus distributed was quite out of proportion to anything which the basket could possibly have contained. The Canon and his companion went away astonished, but by no means discredited, to observe how Divine Providence seemed "to be taking part in a game" (*quasi scherzare*) with the generous-hearted servant of God.²

It would be an endless task to try to compile a list of devout people in whose Lives such multiplications of food are recorded. As space is not unlimited, I will content myself with a bare reference to the admirably documented Life of the Venerable Gertrude Salandri³ († 1748), to that of the Alcantarine friar, the Blessed Andrew Ibernon († 1602),⁴ of the Capuchin, Blessed Crispin of Viterbo († 1750), who seemed to delight in such miracles, but made things uncomfortable for those who did not give,⁵ and of the mystic of Roveredo, the Venerable Joan Mary of the Cross († 1673).⁶ There are many more famous examples such, for instance, as those recorded of St. Veronica Giuliani, St. Paul of the Cross and Blessed Lidwina of Schiedam, but what has here been said will suffice to show that this alleged multiplication of food, though the evidence may often be inadequate, cannot lightly be dismissed as a phenomenon belonging merely to the domain of legend.

HERBERT THURSTON.

¹ In the Life above quoted (pp. 291-319), a vast number of cases are cited in detail. Father Cacciari, the author, was himself the Postulator of the Cause, and must have had all the original depositions before him.

² "Positio super Introductione Causæ S.D. Josephi B. Cottolengo" (Rome, 1877), Summarium, p. 410.

³ "Vita" (Rome, 1774), pp. 264, 288, 346.

⁴ Mondina, "Vita del Beato Andrea Ibernon" (Rome, 1791), pp. 134-138.

⁵ "Vita del Beato Crispino da Viterbo" (Rome, 1806), pp. 64-65.

⁶ B. Weber, "La Vénérable Jeanne-Marie de la Croix" (Paris, 1856), pp. 126, 203-4, 380.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

PRAYING FOR THE DEAD.

NOVEMBER, the month devoted to the memory of the Holy Souls, inevitably turns the thoughts of Catholics to that Region of Hope in which so many of their friends and relations are expiating the sins they committed in this life. And in this connexion it is interesting to discover how widely spread in all ages has been the conviction, even outside the Church, of the existence of such a place. Indeed, an examination of ancient sources on this subject is apt to astonish the investigator till he realizes that the belief answers to an instinctive craving in the human mind, and that God makes it possible for all to realize the truth of the doctrine.

It may not be without interest to glance at some of these non-Catholic sources very briefly. Thus, amongst the Persians, we find their belief in a Purgatorial state clearly expressed in a work that appeared five centuries before the Incarnation, and in which we read: "After the death of a man or woman the friends or relatives shall offer prayers to Dahman, the angel, that introduces the soul into Goratman (Paradise)"; and again: "In order to relieve the soul of the deceased, and to procure for him the protection of the heavenly spirits, prayers are recited for him during three days and three nights, provided in all cases that he died penitent: for a person ought not to be prayed for if he died in his sins."

To this might be added the testimony of the early Scandinavians of pagan times, for in the "Edda Rhythmica" are these injunctions: "Take care of the bodies of the dead . . . let a tomb be prepared for each of them . . . and let each one pray that they may sleep in peace." Similar evidence may be procured from the Turks, the Mexicans, the Celts, the Indians, the Tartars, the Chinese, and a host of others, all showing that these peoples in far distant ages firmly believed in the efficacy of prayers for the dead, and consequently of a middle state (purgatory) between heaven and hell, for it is manifestly useless to pray for the inhabitants of either hell or heaven.

This article is not intended to be primarily controversial, and so it would be out of place to dwell on the Catholic arguments for the existence of Purgatory, or on the Protestant reasons for refusing to believe in it; but it is curious to find so many Protestants, and staunch Protestants at that, actually practising prayers for

the dead, thereby satisfying what we have called an ingrained instinct in man, however illogical they may be in view of their denial of the existence of Purgatory. Bishop Barrow, the Protestant Bishop of St. Asaph, wrote, for instance, this epitaph for himself: "Oh! all of you that pass into the house of the Lord, pray for your fellow servant, that he may find mercy in the day of the Lord." Dr. Samuel Johnson, too, as we learn from his *Meditations*, prayed for the soul of his deceased wife; and did not the Bishop of Exeter pray for the soul of "our poor Princess Charlotte"? But indeed we should be even more distressed by death, if we could not help the dead. It is one of God's crowning mercies that He has given us this privilege and consolation.

As a matter of fact those Protestants who have just been cited as exercising this privilege have, strangely enough, good warrant for it in the works of founders and official leaders of their Church, for the writings of the early "Reformers" quite frequently commend the practice. For instance, both Chemnitius (the early Lutheran) and Melanchthon admit that the doctrine of praying for the dead was taught by the Fathers of the early Church, as did also Calvin ("De Ratif. Eccl. Reform."); and Melanchthon also confessed in his "Apologia" for the Confession of Augsburg that "the ancients prayed for the dead, and the Lutherans do not find fault with it." As for Luther, he admitted Purgatory to be an article founded on Scripture ("Assertiones," Art. 37); and Calvinists affirm that the most impenitent and wicked can be saved, "thus establishing," as has been remarked, "a general Purgatory."

So, too, in more modern times, Dr. Forbes, a prominent and strong Protestant, urged: "Let not the ancient practice of praying and making oblations for the dead, received throughout the universal Church of Christ . . . be any longer rejected by Protestants as unlawful and vain. Let them reverence the judgment of the primitive Church, and admit a practice strengthened by the uninterrupted profession of so many ages." Even Bishop Andrewes prayed: "Give to the living mercy and grace, and to the dead rest and light perpetual"; while Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Blandford, Bishop of Worcester, both confessed that "praying for the dead was one of the ancient things; and that, for their parts, they did it daily, though they would not (publicly) own it," which naïve admission throws a refreshing sidelight, incidentally, on Anglican mentality and conceptions of authority.

As a last illustration of this strange attitude of Anglican leaders there may be quoted the eminent Protestant divine, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, who in his "Liberty of Prophesyng" writes these words: "We find by the history of the Maccabees that the Jews did pray and make offerings for the dead, which also appears by other testimonies. . . Now it is very remarkable that since our Blessed

Saviour did reprove all the evil doctrines and traditions of the Scribes and Pharisees, and argued concerning the dead and the resurrection against the Sadducees, yet He said not a word against this public practice, but left it as He found it, which He, who came to declare to us the will of His Father, would not have done if it had not been innocent, pious, and full of charity." Coming from such a source, these words speak volumes.

In view of the fact that, although the Holy Souls are consoled by the knowledge that their salvation is assured and that they can never again fall into sin, yet their sufferings are very real, it has long been the custom to establish societies, confraternities and sodalities for their relief. In the Middle Ages the Religious Orders were prominent (as now) in this labour of love, and the great Benedictine monastery of Cluny was responsible for the introduction of All Souls' Day. The subject of these medieval confraternities is a most interesting one, but it would take us too far afield: it is worth noting, however, that some of them, notably the Archconfraternity of Death and Prayer (founded in Rome in 1538), still exist.

It is striking that Holy Church in her wisdom has set apart a whole month in every year for the relief of the Holy Souls, and there will be few Catholics this November-tide who will not remember their obligations in this respect. Was it not Cardinal Wiseman who wrote: "Sweet is the consolation of the dying man who, conscious of imperfection, believes that there are others to make intercession for him when his own time for merit has expired; soothing to the afflicted survivors the thought that they possess powerful means of relieving their friend."

BASIL WHELAN, O.S.B.

SOME CORRIGENDA FOR MR. CHURCHILL.

THE first duty of a writer who undertakes such a work as "Marlborough, His Life and Times" is to read what has already been printed, not only about the Life, but about the Times. A better acquaintance with the existing Marlborough bibliography would have equipped Mr. Winston Churchill with the means of dealing more critically with the original documents on which his remarkable study has been mainly based. In some instances his estimate of these sources seems not wholly correct.

Among the Stuart papers at Windsor Mr. Churchill found a document of great historical interest, a letter written by a certain Thomas Innes, which throws a new light on the hitherto unsolved problem of the authorship of the "Life" of James II. Although Mr. Churchill has undoubtedly cleared up some of the difficulties which were created for modern readers by the carelessness of Charles

James Fox, and the unreliability of James Macpherson, he has added a new confusion of his own manufacture. The relevant passage in the letter of Thomas Innes is as follows:

T. Innes to James Edgar 17 Oct 1740.

With the same caution and secrecy we keep the late Queen Mother's Life written by Fr. Gaillard and of the full life at large of the late B. King written by M. Dicconson upon his late Matys Memoirs, Letters and Papers both before and since the Restoration, all which were by special orders in write of his present Majesty, as well as two boxes with H.M.'s papers of which M. Dicconson hath the keys ever since the late Queen Mother's death in whose closet these papers were found and put up into the two boxes by the late E. of Middleton, M. Dicconson and two other Commissaries appointed by H.M. at the time.

Upon this paragraph Mr. Churchill has established two conclusions, (1) that the Life of James must henceforth be regarded as wholly without credit; (2) that the M. Dicconson therein mentioned is "Edward Dicconson, the Roman Catholic Bishop." (Index, p. 589.)

Here there is one clear, if not very important, error of fact. There is not a shadow of evidence or of probability for the assertion that the "Life" of James was written by Bishop Edward Dicconson.

The history of this Bishop, given in some detail by Gillow and by Mazière Brady in "Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy," pp. 255-259, and summarized in the Catholic Encyclopædia, makes it quite clear that he had little or nothing to do with the Court at St. Germains. The M. Dicconson named by Thomas Innes is probably Mr. William Dicconson, elder brother of the Bishop, who acted as Treasurer to the Queen and Court at St. Germains.¹

Moreover, Thomas Innes certainly seems to state quite definitely that the Life was *written*, not merely copied, as has hitherto been assumed, by M. Dicconson; but he also states that it was written "upon his late Majesty's Memoirs, Letters, and Papers, both before and since the Restoration." It ought not, therefore, as Mr. Churchill suggests, to be dismissed on *a priori* grounds as wholly without merit.

Mr. Churchill goes on to say that the "Life" contains a number of forgeries and interpolations, and the reader who knows on what the great "Protestant Tradition," from which the author has not shaken himself free, must even now be made to rely, will not be surprised at learning that "some jacobite-Jesuit scribe" (p. 435) had a hand in this part of the work. This assertion is apparently,

¹ In *THE MONTH* for June, 1907, E. Milner, in an article called "The Diccons of Wrightington," gives a detailed account of this old Lancashire family and especially stresses the intimate connexion of William Dicconson with the exiled Court.

fortified by the further statement that the King's papers had been deposited in the "Scots Jesuit College in Paris." There was indeed a Scots College in Paris, but the Jesuits had never any connexion with it.

These indications show that the author is not always capable of appreciating his sources. They do not inspire confidence in his dealing with controverted points. We shall be better able to test the value of various historical decisions reached by Mr. Churchill in this volume, when a complete transcription has been made of the large number of letters, dating from 1688 to the end of the eighteenth century, formerly at the Scots College, Paris, and now at Blairs College, near Aberdeen. The work on these letters, which has already taken more than four years, has been carried on as far as 1693. Meantime, this new source has already suggested a further correction in a matter of some importance. Mr. Churchill accepts Dalrymple's estimate of the Catholic population of Great Britain shortly before the Revolution as about 13,000. Three reliable contemporary Catholic estimates, each independent of the other, agree in placing the figure at not less than 200,000.

M. C. HAY.

THE APPARITIONS OF OUR LADY IN BELGIUM.

In view of recent developments it seems more necessary than ever to maintain a prudent reserve in speaking of the wave of devotional enthusiasm which is spreading over the Netherlands. It is not yet twelve months since the alleged apparitions of Beauraing began to attract public attention.¹ They came to an end on January 3rd when a crowd had assembled, estimated at 25,000 people, among whom were included not less than eighty medical men. At that date no notable miracles had been reported, and, in particular, the two sufferers for whom the interest of the visionaries had been specially enlisted are not known to have benefited in any way, as regards their physical state, from the prayers so persistently addressed to Our Blessed Lady in their behalf. Since then, however, it is claimed that many cures have been worked at Beauraing, some of which are said to have been of a very striking nature. The first to attract a considerable amount of public attention was that of Tilmant Côme, a workman aged 58 suffering from spondylitis, a spinal complaint which involves some sort of agonizing "roughening" of the vertebræ. In praying before the grotto he experienced a sensation of intense heat which was followed by a cessation of the pain he had previously felt, and by a recovery from what was practically paralysis. Furthermore, he had a vision of Our Lady who, on this and one or two subsequent occasions, spoke to him and gave directions regarding the large chapel she wanted built. In read-

¹ See THE MONTH, February, 1933, pp. 159-169.

ing the Belgian Catholic newspapers of last summer one got the impression that the "children," if we may so describe such very mature young people as Fernande Voisin and Andrée Degeimbre, both of whom were over 15, had rather faded into the background and that Tilmant Côme was now the hero of the hour. But Tilmant Côme's miraculous cure has been very seriously controverted. The medical opinions published on pp. 113-117 of the brochure "Les Faits Mystérieux de Beauraing; Etudes, Documents, Réponses," reprinted with additions from the "Etudes Carmélitaines," make it clear that such an amelioration, in no way confirmed by the radiographs taken of the patient's spine, cannot be accepted as involving, of necessity, any supernatural intervention. There have, no doubt, been a number of other alleged cures, and these may be better able to meet scientific criticism, but so far no competent medical committee seems to have published a report which could be accepted as establishing the miraculous character of any one of them. All that can at present be said of Beauraing is that ecclesiastical authority no longer maintains an attitude of aloofness and mistrust. The Bishop of Namur has given permission for the erection of a chapel and the intensity of the devotion which has been awakened is attested by the concourse of pilgrims which at present shows no signs of any diminution. On the feast of Our Lady's Assumption it is claimed, as the result of a serious attempt at computation, that 150,000 persons visited the little town. We fully recognize that such facts must be allowed to have weight when the question is raised whether this apparent revival of faith is of divine origin. It should also be remembered that the miracles which were first reported at Lourdes, though accepted and endorsed by the Abbé Peyramale himself, were none of them able to withstand scientific criticism. There is nothing recorded in the first year or two after the cessation of the apparitions at Lourdes which the present Bureau des Constatations would be willing to make public as an undoubted manifestation of the supernatural order.

What is, however, very curious in the devotional revival which has taken place in Belgium during the last twelve months, is the reported occurrence of more or less similar apparitions of Our Blessed Lady in other places. The first to attract attention was that at Banneux. Here there was only one little girl who saw the vision, neither was there a series of such appearances extending over a long space of time, but the good faith of the child in question seems to be less subject to doubt and the excellent results in the way of an increase of practical piety in the family concerned are better attested. In this case, the apparition was seen near a spring by the roadside and drew attention to it. It was not then discovered for the first time, its existence was perfectly well known, but it has now acquired something of a sacred character, and the water is already being bottled and sent all over the world.

Moreover, miracles are reported to have taken place, and amongst others a romantic story is told of one Benito Pelegri, formerly an anarchist of Barcelona, who, after having been crippled in an accident, wandered across Europe and was restored to health at Banneux. Still more recently we find a third place of pilgrimage coming into fame at Onkerzeele, when a woman known as Nieke (Léonie van Dyck) passes into ecstasy, and holds long conferences with the Blessed Mother who appears to her. Here, again, the pilgrimage seems to have met with at least a certain measure of approval from the clergy. The parish priest, M. Aimé van der Maeren, with the burgomaster and other prominent residents, have formed themselves, apparently with the sanction of the Ordinary, into a Committee which is intended to promote the veneration of the Blessed Virgin of Onkerzeele. When we learn that yet a fourth series of apparitions is said to be taking place at Etichove, it is impossible not to feel a misgiving that some hallucination may be mixed up with this strange epidemic of heavenly communications. It may be remembered that occurrences of a somewhat similar nature at Ezquioga, in the Basque provinces of Spain, have been recently condemned by ecclesiastical authority. We hope to be able to speak more fully of the Belgian shrines at some future date, when more satisfactory evidence is available.

H.T.

II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

CATHOLICS IN PUBLIC LIFE

Catholics do not go into public life simply to defend their special interests, though to do so is, of course, part of their purpose. They go into public life to do their duty as citizens, to take their share in the growingly important business of public administration, which nowadays pervades our lives from the cradle to the grave. And they may rightly feel that a special onus lies upon them to do this; also that they have a special ground of appeal with tens of thousands of their fellow-citizens who are not Catholics. The more that government concerns itself with the lives and homes of the citizens, the more do moral issues arise at every turn, and in these days, when all the old standards are being brought into question on every side, it is of the first necessity that those who uphold them by conviction should assert themselves. The average citizen who desires to uphold the sanctity of the home and the decencies of life, looks in these distracted days for principle and for leadership. He knows he will find them in the otherwise properly qualified man who is also a Catholic. *THE EDITOR* in *The Universe*, October 20, 1933.

OUR EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

Our educational policy is frequently opposed, as if it were an attempt to endow the Catholic Church out of the rates. That is a libel: though even if it were true, it might be justified, unless we are prepared to admit that there is some subtle distinction by which it is right to subsidize a negation and wrong to subsidize an affirmation. We have never been able to see why a system of education which denies the need for religion should be fully endowed, and a system which says that religion is a necessary part of education should have to pay for permission to teach it. Yet so it is: and a parent who does not wish his child taught any religion, or will undertake to teach him whatever religion he thinks necessary, out of school hours, is the spoiled darling of the authorities and the *beau-ideal* of the good citizen. But should he (as we do) consider religion to be an integral part of education and require that it be taught properly like any other school subject, he is looked upon as a nuisance, cold-shouldered, and treated with ill-concealed petulance as though he were an exacting and unreasonable faddist demanding special treatment to which he has no right. **THE EDITOR** in *The Sower*, October—December, 1933.

THE NEED FOR "THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE"

The greatest tragedy of 1933, however, is the utter lack of an informed Catholic opinion among our 15,000,000 or more members. Such opinion simply does not exist; what is worse, it is as much of a task to create and marshal it as among any other large-sized group of Americans. Catholic teaching, as it affects everyday life, amounts among us to exactly zero; Catholic philosophy in America is almost unheard of, and, as confessed in a recent symposium, is not even taught in our Catholic colleges and universities—classes, textbooks, and teachers to the contrary notwithstanding. Catholic philosophy, if it were a national inheritance among 15,000,000 Americans, would save this critical day in which we live; it would help gradually to change and alter the capitalistic system from its present pagan form to a Christian one. The more devout American Catholics have largely become "Sacramentalists," they have been educated to support a parish church and a parochial grade school, but beyond that Catholicism has not yet penetrated their lives and thought. This has never been so evident as in the present crisis, when American Catholics, though a minority, could institute a far-reaching programme of Christian social reform if they constituted a well-informed and homogeneous class. **PROFESSOR HORACE A. FROMMELT** in *The Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis), October, 1933.

THE MODERNIST ATTACK ON CATHOLICISM

For many years the ablest of our opponents have admitted that the Church of St. Cyril of Alexandria and of St. Augustine was the direct forerunner of the present Catholic Church. They attack us now from further back. They have taken refuge in the somewhat obscure history of the primitive Church, where the broken going and the fewer landmarks enable them to create false traces. And they do create them with consummate cunning. They manipulate and mutilate Scripture and the other early documents; they have a perverse flair for parallels between Catholic Christianity and pagan religious and political conceptions; they slow down the march of time and speed up the movements of thought at their pleasure. So they hope to break the Church from her moorings, to prove that even though she is patristic, she is not apostolic. To their mind, Christ's teaching was simple and undogmatic; His idea of organization for His followers of the loosest, embracing, in fact, nothing more than a community of goods and manner of life under the superintendence of the older members of the body and under the manifest guidance of the Spirit. Dogma fixed in Creeds, mysteries whether doctrinal or ritual, worldwide, quasi-political organization—these are adulterations of the primitive revelation, due to the malign influence of Gnosticism, Montanism and Marcionism, and the Roman imperial ideal. REV. J. CARTMELL in *The Clergy Review*, October, 1933.

ONE VIEW OF "ANGLO-CATHOLICISM"

Nevertheless, we believe that the above-quoted words (of censure) give a much-needed true account of "Anglo-Catholicism." Those who look favourably or hopefully upon the latter think only of the individuals whose conversion it occasioned, and forget the vast numbers left behind, with ever-lessening excuse of ignorance, and ever-hardening will to resist, on the part of their leaders who are at war with historical fact as well as logic. If this be the truth, no matter how unwelcome a truth, it is necessary it should be stated at this time. Complacency to error leads to compromise, compromise to ruin, now as in "the spacious times" of Anne Boleyn's daughter. By compromise England became and remains anti-Catholic. Will she always? Please God, she will not, but will by His grace shake off the besetting national sin of heedless compromise. THE EDITOR in *The Ransomer*, October, 1933.

REVIEWS

1—SECTIONAL CATHOLICISM¹

CATHOLICISM as conceived by the true Catholic has nothing limited or local about it. It is world-wide, in aim if not in fact, God's Kingdom covering the whole earth: it does not admit of specific divisions although it may be qualified to indicate some extrinsic difference of place or rite. Hence a volume of erudite essays intended to prove that "there can be, is, and in some measure always has been, a Catholicism which is neither Roman nor Byzantine; which is non-Papal, but at the same time specifically Western in its outlook and temper" (p. viii), strikes a note of heresy in its very title. The Catholicism which is called Papal is not thereby limited in conception: the epithet merely indicates its centre of Government. Again, the term Byzantine, originally only local, has come through schism and heresy to indicate a spurious Catholicity, not a different species of the same kind. And so it is with the Catholicism which these seventeen essayists consent to call Northern; mere difference of race or habitat give no grounds for religious separatism. Just as Christ's Redemption so His Revelation is meant for the whole of humanity: His Church is one, and knows no distinction between Greek and barbarian. She is the supreme unifying force in the world, against which the spirit of nationalism and racial pride has always striven. The heretical instinct too is ever at work to discredit the universality of the true Church by exaggerating the importance of non essentials—locality, development, temperament, race—as if the Divine Message could be substantially different on their account. If some nations have proved more restless than others under the moral and intellectual restraints of religion, this may as well be ascribed to their weaker assimilation of the Catholic ethos as to their superior love of liberty. Moreover, the term "Northern" is not aptly chosen, even from the editors' point of view, for these islands, converted early to Christianity and so imbued with it that they themselves sent missionaries to pagan Europe, cannot be grouped with those German and Scandinavian peoples, unconquered by Rome and coming late and imperfectly under the influence of her civilization. Both the English and Irish Churches received from their great Apostles the fullness of Catholicism which centred in the Holy See.

¹ *Northern Catholicism: Studies in the Oxford Centenary and Parallel Movements.* Edited by N. P. Williams, D.D., and Charles Harris, D.D. London: S.P.C.K. Pp. xvi. 555. Price, 7s. 6d. n.

Thirteen out of these seventeen essays concern the revival of Catholicism in the Establishment occasioned by the Oxford Movement. No one can doubt that the Holy Spirit has been vigorously at work during the past hundred years in bringing back to the ideals of many Anglicans those doctrines and practices which the Elizabethans had deliberately abandoned as erroneous and wicked. The revival is notable not only in theology, moral and pastoral, but also in liturgy and devotion, in the matter of the consecrated life, in social and humanitarian work. All these aspects are adequately treated here from the point of view of those who believe that Anglicanism is a living and rightful part of the Catholic Church although its beliefs are indeterminate and its ultimate appeal is to human reason. There is no mention here of the origins of Anglicanism nor of that large majority to whom its "resuscitated" doctrinal and devotional life is a "denial of the principles of the glorious Reformation." No mention either of that surrender to Rationalism of which the outward and manifest sign was the whole-hearted acceptance by the "Catholic party" of Bishop Gore's "Scripture Commentary." This we hold is the real end, or conclusion, of the Oxford Movement.

The inclusion in the book of four essays tracing the progress of "Catholicism" in certain of the Reformed Churches, and a final eulogy of the "Old Catholic" sect, are further proofs of the editors' readiness to accept the Modernist view of Catholicity, as meaning comprehensiveness.

2—AN ORTHODOX PHILOSOPHER¹

FEW philosophic historians have the ability to stand aside and apart from their own epoch and to estimate, from their observations of the past, how future generations will be likely to consider it. M. Berdyaev, the distinguished leader of Russian *émigré* thought in Paris, has, in the essays before us, attempted this difficult task. We have several times before tried to appreciate his outlook. He is a Christian philosopher, but his mentality is not Western, nor is his Faith altogether ours. Yet his judgment on the present is always worth considering because of his intimate knowledge of the Russian mind and its latest developments.

Of the essays contained in this book, four closely connected—The End of the Renaissance, The New Middle Ages, The Russian Revolution, Democracy, Socialism and Theocracy—were first published in the four years before 1923, so all are at least ten years old: the fifth belongs to this year, and is not a strict continuation of the others, and as its message was interpreted in our Septem-

¹ *The End of Our Time*. By Nicholas Berdyaev. Translated from the French version by Donald Attwater. London: Sheed & Ward. Pp. 258. Price, 6s. n.

ber issue ("How to cure Bolshevism," p. 261) to this we need not return.

The work thus collected was published in French, and revised by its author in 1927. It has two main themes. The first is that the modern age is essentially one of transition from the period of the Renaissance which is now ending or has already drawn to a close, to that of the new "Middle Ages" that are to witness a transformation, a rebirth even, of State and society on lines quite different from, and opposed to, those on which the modern world, *i.e.*, the world of the Renaissance, was constituted. The second is the belief that these new "Middle Ages" have already dawned in Russia, though there Satan and Antichrist are enthroned in the place of Christ, and the man-god dominates instead of the God-Man.

This is the interesting explanation given by M. Berdyaev of the present crisis of European civilization. Humanism has not strengthened man but weakened him. European man strode into modern history, full of confidence in himself and in his creative powers; he leaves it to-day to pass into another epoch, discouraged, his faith in shreds. The keynote of the Renaissance was the assertion of human liberty to the neglect of divine sanctions; man tore himself from his religious centre, towards which all his life had been directed during the Middle Ages.

The Renaissance was rich and creative because it was fashioned in the womb of the Middle Ages; its profusion was due to medieval asceticism. But it had within itself the seeds of death; it exalted man but saw in him nothing but a limited, dependent creature; knowing nothing of spiritual freedom, it took away his likeness to the divine. Humanism destroys itself by its own dialectic, for the putting up of man without God and against God leads to his own negation and destruction. The Reformation, the "Enlightenment" of the eighteenth century, Rationalism, Revolution and its ultimate effects, Positivism, Socialism and Anarchism are so many stages in the disintegration of the Renaissance, the disclosure of the intrinsic contradictions of Humanism and the gradual impoverishment of its creative powers. The second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, witnessed the final extinction of the Renaissance, the last failure of its powers. Man has lost whatever bound him organically to others, he is isolated, and human society is "atomized." Excessive individualism and excessive socialism are the two forms of this "atomizing" process; the image of man perishes in the superhuman collectivism of Marx, just as it does in the superhuman individualism of Nietzsche. Modern art and philosophy are symptomatic. Futurism destroys the likeness of man, both soul and body; man loses himself in unhuman masses, dominated by unhuman aggregations; it is not by chance that it has shown itself so well adapted to the extremist forms of social collectivism.

Such, very briefly, is M. Berdyaev's analysis of the factors which have led to the present-day crisis. Does he suggest a remedy? No, strictly speaking there is no remedy, no turning back. We can never go back to the old worn-out world. "And the old worn-out world to which we can never go back is precisely the world of modern history . . . this doomed world of modern times." In the second and fourth essays he endeavours to describe the new rhythm of history, the new era which he believes to have already commenced. It is not reaction; for him reaction is the wish to return to a near past, to a state of mind and a set of conditions which governed up to the time of a recent change. The new era may well be described as a new Middle Age, but it will be a *new* Middle Age and not the old one; it will be a return to a better religious type, in which man will find again his spiritual depth and background. It will be, it is, the end of humanism and individualism, and the beginning of a new religious collectivity, in which opposing forces and principles will be defined; there is everywhere a will really to attain the Kingdom of God or the Kingdom of Satan (as in Communism, which, in M. Berdyaev's eyes, is primarily a "sacred," a religious, enterprise). The "atomism" of modern history will be vanquished; it is, indeed, already beaten in a false manner by Communism, and truly by the Church. The new Middle Age is hierarchical in structure; man is not a unit in the universe, but a living member of an organic hierarchy, belonging to a real and living whole. Power is a duty and not a right; all desire of power is a sin. Life will be more austere; the centre of gravity must be moved from the means of living, in which men to-day are absorbed exclusively, to the last ends of life. The notion of "progress" will be discarded as camouflaging the true ends of life: there will be life, there will be creation, there will be turning to God or to Satan—but there will be no progress as the nineteenth century understood it.

M. Berdyaev's analysis is penetrating and touches the core of many problems which, in the ten years or more since his words were first written, have become even more acute. He writes earnestly and with a conviction that is born of deliberation and inner experience. His is no facile hypothesis that regroups the phenomena of history in a startling way, but a serious vision of the world; he is a thinker, almost a prophet. His insistence that man cannot regain his liberty, cannot give meaning to his life except in a return to God, and that only upon Christian principles and religion can society and State be reconstituted, is all-important to-day, when large numbers of professed Christians have seemingly forgotten this.

But there are difficulties. Is not his review of the last four centuries arbitrary, the new era that he imagines, all too vague? Do not Hegelian thesis (the assertion of liberty in the Renaissance)

and antithesis (the impossibility of liberty without dependence upon God) lurk in this review and emerge in the new synthesis of an age, when liberty and dependence are reconciled? Has not perhaps his bitter experience of pre-war and post-revolutionary Russia led him to think the shadows athwart the modern world to be even darker than they are, and to see the cracks in the edifice of modern society as gaping holes that no cement can fill? Is he not at heart a pessimist who sees the salvation of the world in a future which he knows it can never attain? And more serious still. Is a return to God conceivable without the firm and fixed teaching of the Catholic Church? Of the "Church" he says much; of its positive teaching, and of its union under the Vicar of Christ little or nothing at all. Is this Church for him a "Church of the spirit," where yearning and sentiment are what matters, but in which there is little or no content of Revelation? He lays stress upon religious enlightenment and complete change of heart and will; but whence that is to come, how it must be proved and guided, is not explained. Rather he would suggest that the Catholic Church has not fulfilled her mission; man is to steep himself in "true spirituality, to come back to the fatherland of the spirit." "Christianity has not failed; but the work of Constantine the Great has failed. . . Christianity is coming back to its pre-Constantinian situation." Is this a condemnation of the Catholic Church? Then, for us, it is a condemnation of M. Berdyaev.

J.M.

3—MORE ABOUT NEWMAN¹

OBVIOUSLY those who write in our days about the Oxford Movement and its personalities give us nothing but what they have acquired from their own reading and reflection: consequently the points of view must vary with the sources used, and the manner of using them—to say nothing of the previous convictions of the writers. The simple issue—was Newman right or wrong?—immediately creates two opposed camps, and there are those who wander between the two. The books under consideration, produced by our chief Catholic publishers and eminent Catholic writers, are naturally Newmanite in the main and, whether considering him as an Anglican or as a Catholic, see in his development the working of high principle and fearless devotion to truth. The two first discuss him in the setting of that great religious revival of which he was the soul, and which, after his departure, lost its original tendency and succumbed, all but a small section, to the

¹ (1) *The Oxford Movement 1833—1933*. By Shane Leslie. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. Pp. xv. 167. Price, 5s. (2) *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement*. By Christopher Dawson. London: Sheed & Ward. Pp. xv. 144. Price, 3s. 6d. n. (3) *Newman, Education and Ireland*. By W. F. Stockley. London: Sands & Co. Pp. 218. Price, 3s. 6d.

divisive influences of Rationalism: the other deals with an obscurer subject which is yet the most interesting episode in his Catholic career, his attempt in Ireland to realize his ideal of a University.

Mr. Leslie gives one the impression of having steeped himself in the literature of the Movement and of thus being able to draw on innumerable sources to illustrate the stage in hand. He can enforce his views with apt quotations from contemporary literature: his summaries of successive episodes are amazingly detailed, yet the trees do not obscure the wood: his sketches of character are Macaulay-like in their vividness, and his historical vision provides a satisfactory background for the drama he describes. The book is eminently readable, and gives the best general sketch of the Movement that we know. If, sometimes, the author's judgments lack theological precision, that is due partly to his taste for epigram and his flair for gossip, and partly to unfamiliarity with correct terminology. The epigram is almost continuous, and lights up the pages like a succession of sparks. Inevitably, it sometimes rings false. For instance (of Henry VIII)—"He broke with the Rock of Peter, but he founded the See of Peterborough": the antithetical jingle seems mere playing with words. But the sparkle does enliven what would otherwise be solemn ecclesiastical records. His literary appreciations, especially of Newman's exquisite sermons, are very true and striking. A series of useful appendices dealing with various bypaths of the Movement—its fate in Ireland, for instance, and its effect in fostering the religious life in Anglicanism—round off the work.

Mr. Leslie does not make much of the "Lyra Apostolica," and speaks very disparagingly of "The Christian Year." Mr. Dawson, on the other hand, goes to the former for the best interpretation of the minds of those who composed its contents. His masterly essay is, in substance, an apologia for those few fearless men who confronted and challenged the crusted Erastianism of the State Church with their fresh interpretations of God's purpose in Revelation. He answers both the old and the modern assailants of Newman's attitude and view-point, showing that what they attack is the authentic Gospel spirit of which they themselves have lost sight. We get just enough of the course of events to enable us to follow the gradual enlightenment of a mind radically sincere, through intercourse with past history and the living dialectics of kindred souls. Mr. Dawson emphasizes the influence of Hurrell Froude on Newman—Froude, who is described by a modern Anglican as "a representative of academic silliness in its most generous and least unpardonable form: the impudence of the young Tory don"—and conjectures that without his friend's proings and questionings, Newman could hardly have got free from the toils of inherited prejudice. The gradual struggle of that great soul against error, mistaken for and loved as truth, the interplay of other souls with their various gifts and of the words

and acts of the great ecclesiastical world without, are sketched with rare discernment. We learn to admire, so sympathetic is his treatment, not only Newman, but also the other chief actors in the scene, Keble, Pusey, H. J. Rose, and the rest, who remained behind in the bewildered Establishment after he had left it. It is to be hoped that our Anglican friends will become acquainted with this penetrating estimate of their position.

In Professor Stockley's able volume we come across a different Newman, in very different surroundings—the Head of the Birmingham Oratory chosen, on account of his outstanding ability and great services to Catholic truth, to inaugurate in Ireland a Catholic University. The choice of an agent so excellently equipped, the circumstances which frustrated his efforts on every side, present all the materials for a tragedy—great powers, high hopes, fatal misunderstandings, defeat, and yet, out of it all, an immense and lasting good. The story is known, of course, from Ward's "Life" and from that posthumous volume of Newman's called "My Campaign in Ireland," but Professor Stockley adds a great deal of further information drawn from many sources, and an enormous amount of contemporary comment, together with remarks *de omni re scibili* suggested by his own wide reading. In fact, one of the drawbacks in a fascinating narrative is precisely his endeavour to express all at once all that the particular event or person recalls to him, which sometimes results in an involved and allusive presentation of the subject. The book "written out" might reach double the length. As it is, much of its interest is confided to footnotes. The Professor, as a life-long student and teacher of literature, is a whole-hearted admirer of Newman, but he does not conceal those traits of his character, partly natural, partly acquired, which made him stand in his own light, and were to some extent responsible for his want of success. It was a troubulous Ireland to which he came, in 1854, with divided counsels both in Church and State and, as ever, violent political passions afoot. Professor Stockley's book is also concerned with sketching that chaotic scene, and especially the educational struggles which have at last been crowned with substantial success. It is a volume hard to lay down.

J.K.

EDITORIAL NOTE

To secure their return if not accepted, contributions submitted to the Editor must be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. Articles so submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be the fruit of expert knowledge or original research; nor should they ordinarily exceed 3,200 words (between 8 and 9 pages). As a general rule, subjects dealing with the exposition of theology and ethics are reserved for the staff.

SHORT NOTICES

THEOLOGICAL.

IN his enthusiastic volume *The Mystery of the Eucharist* (Gill: 15s.), Father A. M. O'Neill, O.P., has taken great pains to show the continuity and consistency of the doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament from the beginning until now. The author's main effort has been to defend the doctrine against its various falsifiers; hence there is a certain controversial attitude throughout the greater part of the book. For the rest he is careful to be exact in stating the teaching of the Church; quotations from writers, ancient and modern, abound.

In the series of *Opuscula et Textus*, prepared under the general editorship of M. Grabmann and Father Pelster, S.J., and published by Aschendorff of Münster, six recent issues are—No. viii, *Tractatus de Habitibus, Quaestio quarta*, by Durandus de S. Porciano, O.P., edited by Joseph Koch; No. ix, *Quaestiones ineditae de Assumptione B. V. Mariae*, by Walter de Château Thierry and Bartolomeo di Bologna, edited by Augustine Deneffe, S.J.; No. x, *Quaestio de Universalibus*, by an anonymous nominalist, edited by Martin Grabmann; No. xi, *Quaestiones de Motu Creaturarum et de Concorsu Divino*, by Henry of Lübeck, edited by Francis Mitza, S.J.; No. xii, *Quaestio de Sacra Scriptura*, by Henry Jotting of Oyta, edited by Albert Lang; No. xiii, *Quaestio de Aeternitate Mundi*, by Sigerus de Brabantia, edited by Richard Barsotti. These texts put valuable matter within reach of the student, each has a preface giving a short account of the author's life and doctrine, and costs 1.10 r. marks.

A short book entitled *Purgatorium*, by Father Thomas Villanova Gerster a Zeil, O.M.Cap., has been published by Marietti of Turin. The author expounds St. Bonaventure's teaching on Purgatory but completes his study of the subject by reference to later writers.

MORAL THEOLOGY.

In *Etudes de Théologie Morale* (Desclée de Brouwer: 30.00 fr.) Father T. Richard, O.P., deals with the doctrine and practice of perfection, of the Counsels, of Divine Charity, of Probability and Moral Certitude, of the role of the will under the influence of opinion and belief, and of Probabilism in act. The author has succeeded, we believe, in stating some serious but not insuperable objections against the fundamental principle of Probabilism, as a system for relieving a perplexed conscience. He does not admit, in the last analysis of correct action, the validity of the "reflex principle" that a doubtful law does not bind. This is, at most, he states, a negative rule, whereas the true standard and rule of action is practical truth. He endeavours to establish this at great length.

The convinced probabilist will, however, still feel that the principle that "liberty is in possession" is a positive standard for action, justifying the disregard of antecedent speculative doubt, always provided there are sufficient grounds for acting on the lesser probability.

CANON LAW.

The Louvain Commentary on the Codex of Canon Law has reached the third part of the first volume. This part, as were the first two parts, is written by Professor Van Hove, and bids fair to be the most complete and scholarly commentary on the Code published, under the title *De Consuetudine: de Temporis Supputatione* (Dessain: 40.00 frs.). It provides a full exegesis of canons 25 to 35, with historical introductions. The treatment of the canons on custom will interest ecclesiastical lawyers more than the general reader, but that of computation of time is of very practical importance for all priests and religious. Our only regret is that this commentary appears very leisurely. Future volumes by such scholars as Monin, Vermeersch, and Brys will be welcomed by all canonists, even the most expert. A useful bibliography and index is provided.

P. de Sobradillo, O.M.C., has written, as a thesis for his doctorate, a full and greatly needed treatise on that part of the Codex Juris which deals with the powers of confessors of Nuns and Religious Sisters, *Tractatus de Religiosarum Confessariis* (Berruti: 13.50 lire). Besides being a commentary on the canons dealing with confessors, the work explains the historical development and evolution of the discipline of the Church. A chapter is added on confessions of religious women during Jubilee, and one on the special faculties granted by the "Bulla Cruciat." Though the many commentaries on the Codex Juris have made the canons on this subject clear, with very few exceptions, Father Sobradillo has done students a great service by explaining previous legislation, which was certainly very abundant, complicated, and not always clear. The immense merit of the Codex is that it has reduced complication to simplicity, and this work shows the process. The format of the book is excellent, the type being particularly pleasing.

In 1928 the Rev. Father M. Conte a Coronata, O.M.C., began his great work *Institutiones Iuris Canonici ad usum utriusque cleri et scholarum*, of which the third volume *De Processibus* (Marietti: 30.00 l.) has now appeared. The author aims at providing a manual of Canon Law for the schools which will be useful also to priests in daily life when cases arise of the necessity of practical applications of the provisions of the Code.

In this third volume he discusses the canons which govern the procedure of the ecclesiastical courts. A clear, accurate and sober commentary is given on each section of the Law with copious references to the history of the legislation and the opinion of commentators from all the principal countries of the world. Thus the student is provided with a volume—somewhat ponderous,

it is true—but with the advantage of completeness, thus doing away with the necessity of frequently consulting a multitude of smaller books. Undoubtedly this particular volume is pre-eminently one for the student and the few specialists whose business it is to deal with the procedure of the ecclesiastical courts, but all priests may well be grateful to the author for his very clear and full presentation of some difficult questions such as the canonical removal of Parish Priests and suspension "ex informata conscientia."

PATRISTIC.

The fathers of the Church have provided us with an immense wealth of spiritual works of lasting value. But unless they are translated and offered to the public in a convenient form, their readers will of necessity be few. The *Bibliothèque Patristique de Spiritualité* seeks to supply this need by providing a series of small volumes, each containing some spiritual masterpiece of patristic literature in a French translation. The latest edition consists of two such booklets, *Exhortations à Theodore et Lettres à Olympias*; *Contre les Détracteurs de la Vie Monastique* (Gabalda : 236 pp. each), both by St. John Chrysostom, translated by M. Ph. Legrand, who also provides excellent introductions. Not only are the writings deeply interesting from the light which they throw on the saint's character, but much of what is said has its application at all times. Theodore, as some of our readers may be aware, had been a friend and fellow-student of the saint, and had like him embraced the religious life. After some experience of its difficulty he had returned to his family, and was thinking of adopting a secular career. St. Chrysostom writes begging him to reconsider his decision and return to the life of the counsels. Olympias was a devout woman whom the saint had guided along the paths of sanctity, and who had been thrown into distress and dejection by his exile and the triumph of his enemies. The letters addressed to her were designed to console her and rouse her to greater confidence in God. The purpose of the treatise against the detractors of monastic life explains itself. The book was written when the Arian emperor Valens was endeavouring to stamp out Monasticism in Syria.

HISTORICAL.

An eleventh edition of Dom Gueranger's *Sainte Cécile et la Société Romaine aux deux Premiers Siècles* (Téqui : 2 vols. 12.00 fr. each), marks the fiftieth year since its first publication. The text of 1897 has been reproduced, apparently without alteration. For those to whom the work may not be known it may be said that it is rather a study of Rome and the Church in the first two centuries of the Christian Era. St. Cecilia and her family are used mainly as a centre round which the story is woven.

During this sixth centenary of the official recognition of the Franciscans of the Holy Places, **The Franciscans in the Land of**

our Redemption, by Father Conrad Aerts, O.F.M., translated by Father Paulinus Lavery, O.F.M. (B.O. & W.: 6s.), is a little book in season. It tells the story of the Franciscans in Palestine, from the time of St. Francis till now, dwelling on the conditions existing after the War and the Mandate of the League of Nations, and giving in summary the work that is being done, both to preserve the Holy Places and to spread the Faith. It is in some sense a pathetic story; and yet it is a story that would have been dear to the heart of St. Francis himself.

The great Republic of the West, influenced by its Puritan origins, has never dealt worthily with the Holy See. Up till 1848 all that it maintained in the Papal States was a service of consuls: after that, until the spoliation of those States, there was a legation which on the capture of Rome was rather discourteously suppressed by the simple disallowance of its vote in Congress: since then, the United States have not been diplomatically represented at the Papal Court. The American Catholic Historical Association, perhaps with a view to having this state of affairs remedied, has begun the publication of the instructions and despatches between the States and its Ministers at the Vatican, and Volume I, a large quarto of some 500 pages, edited with an Introduction by Leo Francis Stock, has lately appeared, called **United States Ministers to the Papal States** (Washington University Press: \$5.00). It concerns the second period, that of the Legation, from 1848—1868, and is interesting to the general public more from the sidelight which it throws on contemporary affairs than from the direct business transacted. Obscurities are cleared up by abundant notes, and the whole is a fine specimen of carefully-executed historical work.

Of even more restricted appeal but invaluable to scholars is the Rev. P.J. Dignam's elaborate study—**The History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States (1784—1932)** (Washington University Press: pp. 290). It breaks new and important ground, for it traces the difficulties which a spiritually-independent body like the Church has encountered, and in many cases surmounted, in dealing with a State which does not fully recognize its spiritual character and is loth to admit its independence. The author treats his subject with an historical breadth of view which relieves to some extent its inevitable technicalities.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

A young Parisian anarchist, who finds a domicile in Belgium with the avowed object of living a lawless life, who joins a gang of thieves, and finds himself in gaol under sentence of fourteen years' hard labour—such is the hero of **De la Mort à la Vie**, by J. Salsmens, S.J., a volume of the now well-known "Museum Lessianum" (Louvain: 12.00 fr.). The book is taken almost entirely from the subject's own journal. It tells how gradually the

light came upon him, how at first it was resisted and how it conquered, how, from being an anarchist, "Albert" developed a great craving to become a missionary, but how death came to him while he was yet in prison before he had finished his sentence. Passages in the book are as piercing as pages of St. Augustine's *Confessions*; the whole work teems with material that might well be put before the Communist of to-day.

It is no surprise that the well-known work : *Actes de la Captivité et de la Mort des R.R. Pères P. Olivaint, L. Duoudray, J. Caubert, A. Clerc, A. de Bengy*, by P. de Ponlevoy, S.J. (Téqui : 10.00 fr.) should now be in its eighteenth edition. It is the story of the life and death of the five Jesuit victims of the Commune of 1870, and is a model of what such a work should be; complete yet restrained, detailed, sparing nothing, yet with not a word of abuse or reprobation.

Perhaps we are rather late in recommending to all our young men and women the life of *Pier Giorgio Frassati, 1901—1925*, translated and adapted from the Italian by H. L. Hughes (B.O. & W. : 3s. 6d.). Here is the story of a youth of very much our own time, with a superb amount of human energy and courage, a lover of sport, especially such as involved some risk, and yet with a soul full of the supernatural; who could enter with gusto into a political encounter, a university dinner, a scramble up the Alps, and yet had nothing dearer to his heart than the glory of God and the honour of the Church. God took him suddenly, at the age of twenty-four; but his memory will live, and his example will stimulate, for many a year to come. Some excellent photographs illustrate the book; Father Martindale contributes an appreciative preface.

The author of *Pierre Termier*, M. André George (Flammarion : 12.00 fr.), writes with a vividness of colour which turns biography into romance. Himself a physician, a scholar, and a musician, he can enter into the mind of a not dissimilar spirit from every side. Termier made his mark in France chiefly as a geologist; and M. George follows him from triumph to triumph with the enthusiasm of a true disciple. But all the time he never loses sight of the soul of the man he describes; and he leaves us in doubt which most to admire, the lover of science, or the lover of Him who is behind all scientific research. The blending of the two is excellently worked; the result we see at the death-bed of the author's hero.

APOLOGETIC.

A third revised edition of *Con La Razon y La Fe*, by Father Nicolas Marin Negueruela (Tipografia Catolica, Casals, Barcelona : 6.50 pesetas), is a *multum in parvo* for the Spanish Apologist. The author, in a closely-printed volume of 300 pages, states the Catholic position on four fundamental points : The Bible and Science; the Church and the State; the Church and the Social Question;

the Church and Civilization. Under the first heading the Origin of Man is specially discussed; under the second, the many modern interferences with religious liberty by various Governments. Socialism and Marxian Communism naturally occupy almost all the third section; in the fourth the author is chiefly concerned with such historical difficulties as the Inquisition, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Edict of Nantes. The volume is a valuable summary which will be of great service to those who are in search of apologetic arguments.

DEVOTIONAL.

We all know how the great Cardinal, St. Robert Bellarmine, spent much of the last years of his life in writing little spiritual books for the benefit of his younger brethren. Among these, perhaps **The Seven Words spoken by Christ on the Cross** (Thomas Baker: 2s. 6d.) is the best. It is a commentary, not on the Seven Words only, but of the whole of the Passion, and is characteristic of the great theologian; teeming with Scripture references, and drawing out "fruits" of meditation which seem to make the love of Our Lord shine again in ever new lights.

A movement in France to strengthen the position of the secular clergy by uniting them together, not only in communities, but also by rules and vows, is the source of **Sacerdoce : Perfection et Vœux**, by the Abbé Georges Lemaitre (Desclée: 5.00 fr.). The little book draws out the close relations between the priesthood and perfection; it is a treatise on the spiritual life of the priest, quietly emphasizing the benefits to the priest of the taking of vows according to his state and life.

A few months ago there appeared a striking little book, "The House of the Spirit," written for contemplatives living in the world. Of a similar kind is **Non-mariées**, by the Abbé Charles Grimaud (Téqui: 10.00 fr.). The author is endowed with insight and sympathy. He faces the causes why so many fail to reach the married state, the temptations resulting from that disappointment, and finally lifts the disappointed out of their distress to see the good that has come out of it, and the useful lives they are living or may live. Indeed, from a study of the soul the book gradually develops into a work for Catholic Action. But we are most struck by the keen understanding of human nature which the author shows on every page, although he takes too much for granted the inability of the spinster to live contentedly alone.

No one would be more surprised, we fancy, than the humble little Carmelite of Lisieux whom the world venerates as Saint Thérèse to learn that it was proposed to elaborate the moral and ascetical lessons contained in her few simple writings into a series of volumes dealing with various aspects and states of perfection. Yet this is what that devout client of hers, Father Benedict Williamson, has undertaken, and already two volumes out of the

dozen he has planned have been published with the formidable title, **The Doctrinal Mission and Apostolate of S. Thérèse of Lisieux. Vols. 1 and 2. The Priesthood** (Alexander Ouseley : 3s. 6d. each). As far as we can judge the plan of the author is to set forth the ideal of the priesthood, the grace of vocation, the priestly virtues, the dangers to be encountered, and the final reward, illustrating everything not only from his intimate knowledge of the Saint's life and writings, but from "modern instances" from other sources. The result necessarily is, seeing the scale of the book and scantiness of original material available, that there is very much more of the author than of the Saint in these two volumes, and we imagine that readers will go back to her exquisite autobiography for a clearer grasp of what she did teach her age. For all that even the greatest of saints do is to illustrate, more by example than by word, some facets of the perfect holiness of the Divine Master and Model, whose doctrine is expressed with incomparable clarity in the New Testament. Saint Teresa's "little way" may be stated in very few words, but calls for a lifetime of effort and large stores of grace to reproduce. Father Williamson's exposition of sacerdotal perfection follows the traditional lines to be found in countless treatises, but his association of them with the gracious personality of the holy Carmelite serves to give them fresh point and vigour.

A more formal discussion of the approach to God by the Way of Spiritual Childhood, which was Saint Teresa's distinct contribution to the science of the saints, is contained in **Saint Thérèse: the New Omen**, an abridgement of *A Spiritual Renascence*, itself translated from the French of Père Henri Petitot, O.P., which we reviewed four or five years ago. As we then remarked this masterly analysis of the negative and positive constituents of her sanctity clearly shows that the "Little Way" is not an easy way nor in any sense an evasion of the only real way, the Way of the Cross.

HOMILETIC.

A few months ago we had occasion to welcome the first volume of **Les plus beaux Sermons de Saint Augustin**, selected and translated by le Chanoine G. Humeau. The second volume (Bonne Presse, Paris), is worthy of its predecessor. The sermons, thirty-three in number, seem to us well-chosen, both for the sake of their subject matter, and as illustrating the manner of the Saint. Each is preceded by a short analysis, cross-headings are provided, there are footnotes and appendices where any difficult passage seems to call for further explanation. An analytical index to the two volumes makes the whole work easy for reference. As we said before, St. Augustine cannot be adequately translated; nevertheless, in a work such as this we possess a key to his mind, and teaching, and manner of expression.

MISCELLANEOUS.

It is to be regretted, because likely to put people off what is instructive and stimulating, that Mr. Eric Gill, in his recent book, **Beauty looks after Herself** (Sheed & Ward: 7s. 6d.), should write as if he were angry with everyone, and as if he expected everyone to be angry with him; as if he thought that most of us were fools, and that he had been sent to tell us so. That most of us are fools may be true; that he has been sent to tell us is not too evident, at least if we may judge from his book. He begins his Preface by saying that we, or most of us, can only remember the point if it is repeated often enough; so he proceeds to repeat and repeat till at last we begin to wonder what the point actually is. He condemns in general merchants and industrialists, working men and priests; such sweeping condemnations are as true as sweeping statements usually are. Moreover, if as a whole they are such an ignorant lot, why do they affect Mr. Eric Gill's art? From whom but from them does he get his commissions? Of Mr. Eric Gill as an artist we are happily excused, in this age of nerves, from expressing an opinion; of Mr. Eric Gill as a writer we can only say that if he were less abusive and contemptuous he might be more convincing.

We are in no fear of exaggeration when we describe *Miroir de la Chine* (Desclee: 15.00 fr.), by Louis Laloy, as a remarkable book. It belongs to the new series "Les Iles," directed by M. Maritain, and certainly it sets a high standard for volumes which may succeed it. The author sets out on his voyage, from France to China, through China and across Soviet Russia, wonderfully equipped; with a knowledge of the language of both countries, with previous studies which have raised him high as a professor in France, with a gift of observation and reflection which brings the past and the present to bear on his dreams of the future. He goes by Port Said to Colombo, Singapore, and Hong Kong, commenting on what he sees all the way; in China he moves leisurely, at a restaurant, among the people, in government circles, noticing just those things which an ordinary tourist passes by, and drawing from them significant signs which make the reader think. There is the vividness of truth on every page; there is also that sympathy and understanding which sees life where others might see only death. We leave China with him full of hope; when we come in the last pages to Siberia and Russia we are startled by the convincing contrast. The author has been generous indeed in pouring out his knowledge for the benefit of his readers; he has given us a volume which will repay more than one careful reading.

FICTION.

The study of a patient's experience in a consumptive-sanatorium which Mr. David Esdaile with grim humour calls **Eat, Drink, and be Merry** (Longmans: 7s. 6d. n.) has all the appearance of a transcript from life. But though neither the locality nor the

characters can be purely imaginary we devoutly hope, for the moral credit of such establishments, that "Hangerton Sanatorium" does not actually exist. For within its walls the rules of diet and discipline are freely set at naught, and the same is true of the laws of morality. It may be that the author wishes to show how sordid and unlovely life under the shadow of disease and death is apt to become when it is devoid, as in this case it is, of the consoling and purifying influence of religious Faith. There is one Catholic patient, it is true, but, apart from receiving Holy Communion occasionally and arguing now and then inconclusively with an atheist, he exhibits no Catholic reactions to the low morality around him. His language is almost as coarse and his behaviour almost as loose as those of the heathen. The writing is good and the descriptions are vivid, but it is sometimes too outspoken. The true artist painting a dirty street can achieve realism without smearing actual mud on the canvas.

POETRY.

Father Edwin Essex, O.P., is one of our new poets, and *A Song of Wisdom and Other Verses* (S. Walker, Hinckley: 3s. 6d.), gives us a first instalment of the fruits of his genius. He is devoted to the Scripture, as might have been expected; he writes with a longing for that which is beyond the reach of man on this earth, he reacts upon himself, and on all around him, and finds hollow places everywhere. From the whole collection we would choose the following as most typical of his muse, both in its subject and in its expression:

My soul has solitudes
Where no pace falls;
Thy silent trespassings
No man foretells.

My soul has silences
No voice can break;
Only thy hidden words
Its echoes wake.

But, O, the solitudes
Shouldst thou not come!
The stricken silences
When thou art dumb!

NON-CATHOLIC.

Miss Mary Anita Ewer's new work, which must have cost an enormous amount of reading, *A Survey of Mystical Symbolism* (S.P.C.K.: 8s. 6d.), might almost be described as a Dictionary of Mysticism. It concludes with a "selected" bibliography of nineteen pages. The author's aim has mainly been to study the language of the mystics, Christian and non-Christian, and to compare or correlate the various ways they have attempted to explain their experiences and discoveries, by symbol, by allegory, by simile, or whatever else. The Catholic student would be inclined

to feel that at times she describes as symbol what he would take in a more literal sense; this especially when she speaks of the Blessed Sacrament, of the Life of Christ in the Soul, or some of the higher mystic states like the Mystical Marriage. But this she proposes to examine more closely in a later volume. The appendices, discussing points raised in the course of the work, are very clear and valuable. Incidentally, if we may be allowed a criticism, one feels that the argument is somewhat confused by the attempt to blend all kinds of mysticism in one *conspicetus*. The mysticism that depends on faith in a personal God, for example, differs fundamentally from that depending on self; and again, the philosophic approach gives an entirely different significance to symbols from that which is derived, first of all, from Our Lord and His Revelation. In all studies of comparative religion there is danger of error in making the same words used by different writers mean the same thing; and the danger is the greater when we are dealing with mysticism, which, by its very nature, is beyond the measurement of ordinary scales.

REPRINTS.

The reprint of Mr. Belloc's **How the Reformation Happened** (Jonathan Cape: 4s. 6d. n.) in the "Life and Letters Series" will prolong and spread the startling effect of its first appearance five years ago. Here we have a masterly essay in true history—history that views events as much as possible as contemporaries saw them and thus gauges with greater accuracy their real significance. The careless or bigoted writer carries his whole mentality into the past and thus only distorts what he tries to record. Mr. Belloc's survey is wide in space and time, and he is thus enabled to trace with certainty the various steps on the continent and here in the direction of a breach with Rome and the motives and occasions of each. Of especial importance is his appreciation of the strength and dominance of Calvinism. The book will be a revelation to those, some, alas! from Catholic schools, who have been brought up on manuals more or less infected by the old Protestant tradition, and our school authorities should see that, henceforth, it should enter into all our school-courses.

In the same series, at the same price, the publishers have issued Viola Meynell's life of her mother, **Alice Meynell**, which was such a success when brought out at 15s. n. in 1929. We commented, when it first appeared, on its eloquent reticences so wholly in the spirit of its subject, which leave in the reader a sense of how much that is equally charming is left unsaid. Perhaps—some day—a larger "Life." . . . Anyhow here is entertainment, instruction, edification, for a new and wider circle of readers.

We are glad that that fine book of exploration called **Through Jade Gate and Central Asia**, written by two courageous missionary ladies, Miss Mildred Cable and Miss Francisca French,

published at 10s. in 1927, has after several reprints been re-issued in a second edition by Messrs. Constable at 3s. 6d. n. For Central Asia with its teeming population, sturdy and unspoiled by the corruptions of "civilization," may well hold the key to the future destinies of the world. In this book may be learned much which it behoves the West to know. As the authors firmly say, it is in the establishment of the Kingdom of God amongst these multitudes that "there lies the only solution of problems whether social, national or international," and we cannot forget that they are at present neighboured on the West by aggressive atheism.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS.

A pamphlet by Father W. H. Walsh, S.J., entitled **A Plea for Three Beautiful Customs**, and published in connexion with the "Boy Saviour Movement," which he conducts at the Church of St. Ignatius in Park Avenue, New York, summarizes the customs as "How address God," "The Bow of Reverence," and "The Bow of Adoration." This last is the inclination at the Consecration at Holy Mass; we presume that the author does not mean to discourage the practice of looking at the Sacred Host, since the rubric of the Mass directs the priest to *show* It to the people. The "Bow of Reverence" is that which accompanies the mention of the Holy Name. In the matter of addressing God the author pleads for the retention of the second person singular, and rightly censures the contrary practice as one of the ways in which modern Protestant translators "have succeeded in robbing the scriptural language of its charm and dignity" (p. 8). We are glad to find that the practice in this matter of the Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures is thus held up for commendation:

After even a cursory examination of these modern English Protestant translations of the Bible, one cannot but feel grateful to the Reverend Editors of the Catholic Westminster Version, the New Testament of which is being published in sections, and is now nearly completed. While the greatest care is being given to bring it up to date in the interpretation of difficult and disputed passages, and in simplifying the language as much as is possible wherever the meaning was obscure, there is no sacrifice of dignity in its language and the second person singular is respected throughout. (p. 9.)

The General Editors in their turn would doubtless wish to express their gratitude for this generous tribute to the success of their chief aim.

As we remarked in our previous notice of it, the Rev. J. G. Morton Howard's **Epistola ad Romanos** (Talbot & Co. : 6d.) gave a useful insight into the real mentality of the pro-Roman Anglicans. They cling to the belief that they have valid Orders and therefore belong in some way to the Church. They refuse to acknowledge the force of the arguments showing that the

sacerdotium never existed in Anglicanism: in fact, they claim the same interposition of Providence for the preservation of the Apostolical Succession as we do and thus repudiate Newman's distinction—"Catholics believe their Orders are valid, because they are members of the true Church; and Anglicans believe they belong to the true Church because their Orders are valid." (Essays: Critical and Historical, Vol. II, p. 87.) A mind so closed is not accessible to argument, but, if it were, it must needs give in to Dr. E. C. Messenger's cogent reply to Mr. Howard's pamphlet called *Epistle from the Romans* (B.O. & W.: 6d.) which exhibits ruthlessly the unsubstantiality of the foundations for belief in Anglican Orders.

Amidst the recent output of the C.T.S. comes aptly enough a new edition of Mgr. Barnes's *No Sacrifice—No Priest, or Why Anglican Orders Were Condemned*, which points out the fatal and fundamental flaw in the Anglican position. Other pamphlets are—*The Epic of the Missions*, by Mother Keppel, R.C.S.J., part of her "Story of the Church," and a very interesting part, dealing with the immense expansion of her activities just when in Europe she was wrestling with the "Reformation": *How to tell a Catholic Church in England*, by Father Scantlebury—the need for which information would have astonished our forefathers of pre—"Anglo-Catholic" days: and an account of *Anne de Guigné*, by Dora Lennard, the story of a little devotee of the Blessed Sacrament, who was one of those "nursery saints" remarkable in our time.

The Catholic Mind (America Press: 5 cents) preserves in its September 8th issue a valuable essay on *John England*, Bishop of Charleston, one of the earliest and greatest of America's prelates: in the issue for September 22nd Father Siedenburg's paper on *Human Security*, a discussion of Unemployment, causes and remedies, whilst October 8th contains a reprint on the Christian Law of Charity from our pages and a warm appreciation of *Lingard the Historian*, by Mr. Christopher Hollis.

The Catholic Social Guild has reprinted as a twopenny pamphlet the inspiring and illuminating address delivered by Senator P. J. Serrarens at the Oxford Summer School called *Germany under National Socialism*, which criticizes mercilessly the invasion of natural liberty perpetrated by the Nazis and the foolish racial pretensions by which it is justified.

The evil and the good, both incalculable, capable of being done by the modern press according to its Christian or unChristian character is the theme of a vigorous and constructive pamphlet—*Sa Majesté, la Presse!* (La Générale d'Imprimerie, Brussels: 3.00 fr.), by Father G. Hoornaert, S.J., who describes the character and exploits of both varieties and offers practical advice for Catholics in the matter. The need for Catholic action is here even greater than it is in Belgium.

The Catholic Revival (Heffer: 6d. n.) is the title of a sermon preached at Cambridge by an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Charles Smyth, in commemoration of the Oxford Movement Centenary. It contains an immense amount of information about the early and later stages of the Movement at Cambridge as well as at Oxford, but the appreciation of events and characters are, necessarily, not wholly acceptable to Catholics.

Before the blight of Protestantism fell on the land, devotion to Our Lady flourished all over England, but nowhere more than in the Eastern Counties where she had her famous Walsingham shrine. **Our Lady of Cambridgeshire** (Heffer: 6d.), by M. S. Gabrielle Bruze, is meant to record how thoroughly the devotion was practised in that county and begins, naturally and auspiciously, with the vision which St. Simon Stock saw at Newnham.

A suggestive essay called **The Bridge People**, by Naomi Soman (Blackwell: 1s. n.), develops the idea that the Jewish race may be providentially destined to unite the civilizations of East and West in a common homage to the Creator, and thus make mankind one. The historical causes of the separation between Jew and Gentile are sympathetically dealt with, but a Catholic cannot help thinking that the instrument for the union of the world is already at work in the Church founded by Him "who maketh both one."

The Silver Jubilee of the Catholic Women's League occurred last year, and occasion has been taken of the event to republish **The Story of the C.W.L.: 1906—1932** (C.W.L.: 6d.) from its journal. It is a fine record of achievement and should prove an inspiration to even greater things during the next twenty-five years, now that the League has grown into one of the most widespread Catholic forces in the land.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

AMERICA PRESS, New York.

The Catholic Mind. Nos. 17—20.
Price, 5c. each.

ARTHUR BARKER, LTD., London.

The Return to God. By Leslie J. Walker, S.J., Pp. 223. Price, 5s.

BEAUCHESNE ET FILS, Paris.

Dictionnaire de Spiritualité. Edited by Marcel Viller, S.J. Fasc. II. Pp. 160. Price, 20.00 fr.

BLACKWELL, Oxford.

The Bridge People. By Naomi Soman. Pp. 19. Price, 1s. n.

BROWNE & NOLAN, Dublin.

St. Brigid of Ireland. By Alice Curtayne. Pp. 162. Price, 3s. 6d. n.

BURNS, OATES & WASHBOURNE,
London.

Introduction to Catholic Booklore. By S. J. Brown, S.J. Pp. viii. 105. Price, 5s. *Sir Thomas More*. By Joseph Clayton. Pp. 144. Price, 3s. 6d. *The Catholic Social Movement*. By Henry Somerville. Pp. xvii. 173. Price, 3s. 6d. *Directions for the use of Altar Societies*. New edition. Pp. xiv. 66. Price, 2s. 6d.

The Papal Forces. By Capt. F. R. Mellor. Pp. vii. 40. Price, 2s. *House of Faith.* By J. O. H. Hughes. Pp. 25. Price, 1s. *This Way to Lourdes.* By Rev. John Lane. Pp. xv. 112. Price, 1s. 6d. *The Curé of Thildonk.* By F. Holemans. Pp. xii. 147. Price, 3s. 6d. *A Zoo Holiday.* By Gertrude Gleeson. Pp. vii. 130. Price, 2s. 6d. *The Littlest House.* By S. E. Locke. Pp. 158. Price, 3s. 6d. *Muddy Paws.* By K. D. Nason. Pp. 120. Price, 2s. *The Evangelical Approach to Rome.* By Stanley B. James. Pp. 119. Price, 3s. 6d. *The Stable Gate.* By a T.O.F. Pp. 164. Price, 3s. 6d.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
The Church of Israel. By R. H. Kennett. Pp. lvi. 250. Price, 12s. 6d. n. *The Poetry of G. M. Hopkins.* By E. E. Phare. Pp. viii. 149. Price, 6s. COLE & CO., London.
The 36th Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges. Pp. 242. Price, 2s.

DESCLÉÉ DE BROUWER, Paris.
Rosie Grande Sœur. By J. Vincent. Pp. 295. Price, 9.00 fr. *Etudes Carmélitaines.* October, 1933. Pp. 250. Price, 15.00 fr.

EDITIONS SPES, Paris.
Augustin. 2 vols. By J. Malègue. Pp. 860. Price, 30.00 fr.

FLAMMARION, Paris.
Saint Paul. By Mgr. Sagot du Vauroux. Pp. 211. Price, 12.00 fr. *La Femme dans les Missions.* By Georges Goyau. Pp. 281. Price, 12.00 fr.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, New York.
Greek Speaks for Itself. By F. P. Donnelly. Price, 10 c.

GABALDA ET CIE, Paris.
Saint Benoit. By Dom F. Cabrol. Pp. 188. Price, 10.00 fr.

GILL & SON, Dublin.
St. Francis of Assisi. By Fr. Aloysius, O.M.Cap. Illustrated. Pp. 214. Price, 7s. 6d.

HERBERT JENKINS, LTD., London.
Knave of Hearts. By Margaret Beach. Pp. 312. Price, 7s. 6d.

HERDER, Freiburg.
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